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Sort of a Free World *Colman McCarthy*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts — February 8, 1969, 40 cents

How's He Doing?

John Osborne

Joseph Featherstone on Schools

Michael Harrington on Socialism

Richard J. Barnet on Pentagonism

COMMENT: Democratic Party Reform, Arms Talks, Black Suspicion of Nixon, Is Commander Bucher to Blame?

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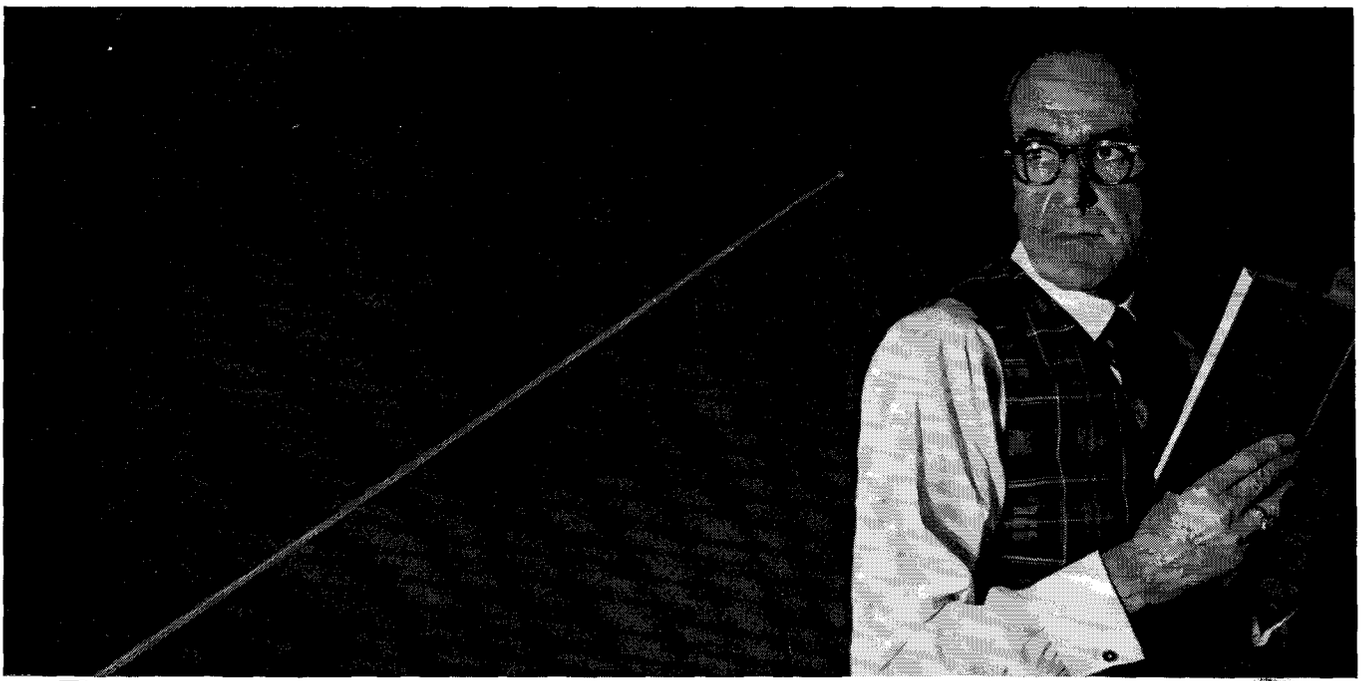

Programs to enjoy, in spite of yourself.

Your New Year's resolution for February has you reading a C.P. Snow novel, a Mailer essay, a collection of Concrete Poetry and a monograph by Daniel Moynihan.

Yet something is playing games with your best intentions.

One night, it can be the Royal Shakespeare Company's production of "A Midsummer Night's Dream." Or isn't that Nancy Walker and Jack Gilford doing Sholom Aleichem? And is that how a school of cod looks from a satellite?

Yes.

Be not dismayed. Whether your head has been turned by the news, an original drama, a documentary, a movie or a musical special, you can learn. And enjoy. Which is a great way of staying on top of what's going on around you.

Somewhere between the poem shaped like a comma and one of the books is time to peek at your television set. Here's a partial list of February's programs worth the effort.

Discovery. Discovery goes to Sweden —A Village Made of Glass; Switzerland—Part I; Switzerland—Part II; The Gulf Stream. Sundays, Feb. 2, 9, 16, 23 (11:30-12 Noon).

Children's Film Festival. Skinny and Fatty; The Lupinek Case; The Magnificent Six and A Half; Doggie and Three. Sundays, Feb. 2, 9, 16, 23 (1:30-2:30 pm).

The 21st Century. Report on Cancer; Inventing Tomorrow; The First 10 Months—Part I; First 10 Months —Part II. Sundays, Feb. 2, 9, 16, 23 (6-6:30 pm).

First Tuesday. Once-a-month presentation of special news features. Sander Vanocur is anchorman. Tuesday, Feb. 4 (9-11 pm).

60 Minutes. Harry Reasoner and Mike Wallace are on-camera editors of this news magazine of the air. Tuesdays, Feb. 4, 18 (10-11 pm).

Teacher, Teacher. Hallmark Hall of Fame—Allan Sloane's original drama about a tutor who tries to rehabilitate a mentally retarded youth. Wednesday, Feb. 5 (7:30-9 pm).

This is Sholom Aleichem. NBC Experiment in Television—The life, works and personality of the famed Jewish writer. With Jack Gilford, Nancy Walker, David Burns. Friday, Feb. 7 (10-11 pm).

The View From Space. The earth is explored from satellites to learn about weather, oceans, and resources essential to our survival. Sunday, Feb. 9 (7-8 pm).

A Midsummer Night's Dream. The production by England's Royal Shakespeare Company. Sunday, Feb. 9 (9-11 pm).

Fred Astaire Special. The dancer in a musical special with guests Barrie Chase, Simon and Garfunkel, Sergio Mendes and Brasil '66. Sunday, Feb. 9 (10-11 pm).

Heart Attack. A close-up examination of heart trouble: causes, diagnosis, treatment. Monday, Feb. 10 (10-11 pm).

Feelin' Groovy at Marine World. Bing Crosby, Anissa "Buffy" Jones, Kathy Crosby perform at the new entertainment-research complex. Saturday, Feb. 15 (7:30-8 pm).

Children's Letters to God. Utilizing Stuart Hample's book, Gene Kelly explores the creative imagination of children. Sunday, Feb. 16 (8:30-9 pm).

Australia—The Timeless Land. National Geographic Society—a look at the Outback, wildest, most barren, yet boomingest part of Australia. Tuesday, Feb. 18 (7:30-8:30 pm).

Academy of Professional Sports Awards. Perry Como is host. Wednesday, Feb. 19 (10-11 pm).

The Experiment. CBS Playhouse—original drama by Ellen M. Violett about a young scientist confronting the Establishment. Tuesday, Feb. 25 (9:30-11 pm).

Regularly Scheduled Programs

Monday through Friday: The Today Show/ Captain Kangaroo/ Sunrise Semester

Tuesdays: CBS News Hour

Saturdays: The Banana Splits/ Untamed World/ Wonderful World of Golf/ ABC's Wide World of Sports

Sundays: Lamp Unto My Feet/ Look Up And Live/ Bullwinkle/ Camera Three/ Discovery/ Directions/ Face the Nation/ Meet the Press/ Issues and Answers/ Frontiers of Faith/ Animal World/ The Killy Style/ Frank McGee/ G-E College Bowl/ The 21st Century/ Wild Kingdom/ Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color

Note: This is, necessarily, a partial listing. Time (NYT), titles and casts of these national programs are subject to change. Please consult your station listings: check also for noteworthy local programs.

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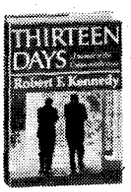
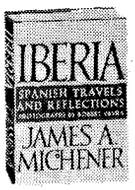


447. THIRTEEN DAYS A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis *by* ROBERT F. KENNEDY (Ret. price $5.50)

435. THE FIRST CIRCLE *by* ALEKSANDR I. SOLZHENITSYN (Retail price $10)



414. IBERIA: Spanish Travels and Reflections *by* JAMES MICHENER (Retail price $10)

408. COUPLES *by* JOHN UPDIKE (Ret. price $6.95)

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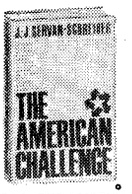

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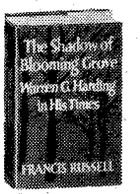

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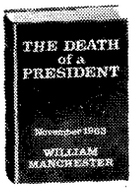

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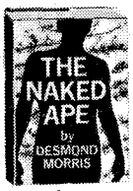

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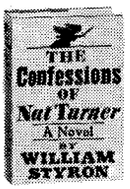

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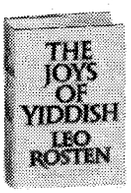

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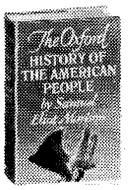

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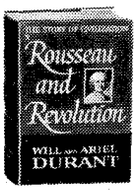

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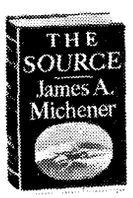

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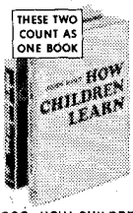

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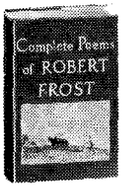

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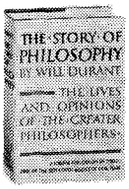

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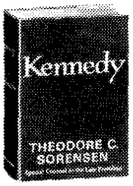

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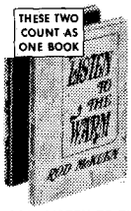

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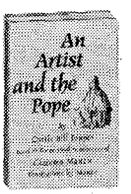

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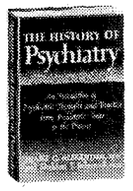

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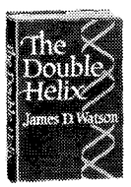

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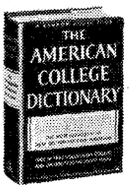

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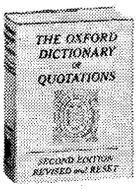

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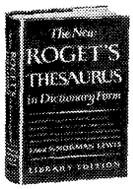

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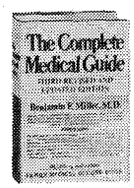

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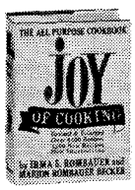

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R9—MEMBERSHIP signed by Washington and Knox—ornate illustrated certificate. Society of Cincinnati, officers only of AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Cincinnati Ohio named for this society—"military mobility" opposed by Tammy, rare 20 x 14 ..... $1

R26—CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS PLAYING CARDS—primitive folk art illustrations of Conf. soldiers, used in Army, very rare, set of 35 for $1

R27—CIVIL WAR PATENT MEDICINE LABEL—diseases of camp life ..... 10¢

R28—VICTORY NEWS BROADSIDE—REBELS FLEEING—Apr. 1865 ..... 35¢

R29—SLAVE SALE POSTER — descriptions — 19 x 12½ ..... 50¢

R30—SLAVE SALE POSTER—25 Negroes described 40¢

R32—LINCOLN ELECTION POSTER—19 x 11—believe it or not, speech by V. Pres. Stephens, Confederacy—boomerang—N.Y. printed—interesting, unknown ..... 50¢

C1—PLAYBILL—1st Gilbert & Sullivan Amer. performance 1879, Pirates Penzance, rare ..... 35¢

C2—HORSE MATING POSTER, picture, description, fees, unique ..... 25¢

C3—LINCOLN LIQUOR LICENSE, 1833, Salem, Tavern, liquor food prices, Lincoln's handwriting illustrations, large size, rare ..... 60¢

C4—N.Y. STAGECOACH POSTER, horses, coach illus. 40¢

C5—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER—Brooklyn .... 40¢

C6—AMER. REVOLUTION RECRUITING POSTER—1777—Phila.—English want sailors ..... 35¢

C7—AMER. REVOLUTION PROCLAMATION—Phila. —Howe orders 8 P.M. curfew ..... 25¢

C8—AMER. REVOLUTION RECRUITING POSTER—Phila.—English want "Rangers" 14 x 13 ..... 40¢

C9—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING for home guard .... 25¢

C10—AMER. REVOLUTION POSTER—orders accept Continental money; help with fires; help build fortifications—1776—24x19—rare American orders $1

C11—AMER. REVOLUTION POSTER — Chimney sweeps ..... 25¢

C12—AMER. REVOLUTION POSTER — Howe tells Americans cannot buy certain foods; need permit for medicine; 18 x 14—unusual, rare ..... 50¢

C14—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER . . . 15 x 14 —Hempstead, N.Y.—unusual appeal ..... 35¢

C16—JACKSON PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION HANDBILL, illustrated ..... 40¢

C17—SLAVE AUCTION—1859 N. C. "owner to reside in NORTH" ..... 35¢

C19—TAYLOR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION HANDBILL, ballad ..... 25¢

C20—RUNAWAY SLAVE POSTER—Reward, 1853 ... 25¢

C23—THEATRICAL POSTER, Joe Jefferson ..... 25¢

C25—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER — tells Washington attack anticipated, Eagle illus. .... 35¢

C27—1870—MENU with prices, steak 15¢ ..... 10¢

C28—MEDICAL BROADSIDE — 1st medical announcement in America 1677—symptoms, remedies—quaint, rare . . . 17 x 11 ..... $1

C29—PONY EXPRESS POSTER—illustrated, rates ... 35¢

C30—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER—TEXAS 1861—rare ..... 40¢

C31—TEXAS PROCLAMATION — 1861 — "SHOULD TEXAS SECEDE?" ..... 40¢

C32—WELLS-FARGO RECEIPT FOR GOLD—unusual . 15¢

C33—ELECTION POSTER—HARRISON presidential, 1840, cider, log cabin ..... 35¢

C34—AMER. REVOLUTION NOTICE — "Cornwallis Retreating" ..... 10¢

C35—REWARD POSTER Pinkerton for Perry "nervest train robber" ..... 25¢

C36—VIGILANCE POSTER list of bad-men—1868 30¢

C37—ADAMS EXPRESS POSTER, "ship gold" ..... 30¢

C38—BUFFALO BILL WILD WEST SHOW, illustrated 30¢

C39—RAILROAD POSTER—Wells-Fargo Coach..... 25¢

C40—BATHING SUITS—1885—seashore styles 25¢

C41—AUTOMOBILE CLOTHING WORN in 1900—3 illustrated ads ..... 25¢

C42—CALAMITY JANE POSTER—exhibition ..... 20¢

C43—REWARD POSTER—train robbers, murderers 25¢

C44—ANNIE OAKLEY EXHIBITION POSTER—her picture, rifle, medals ..... 35¢

C45—REWARD POSTER—r. r. train robbers, loot 25¢

C46—REWARD POSTER—Doolin, Dalton rob train 25¢

C47—REWARD POSTER—Robber killed engineer 25¢

C48—REWARD POSTER — Tom Nixon, notorious Union Pacific R.R. robber ..... 25¢

C49—BUFFALO BILL POSTER—11 illustrations, Indians, Badmen, a la TV ..... 35¢

C50—INDIAN SQUAW POSTER—in full regalia.... 20¢

C51—PONY EXPRESS POST MARKS, details enlarged, flying pony ..... 20¢

C52—SHOWBOAT HANDBILL—4 illustrated pages of exciting entertainment that floated into riverbank towns, Important Americana ..... 75¢

C73—CIVIL WAR NEWS POSTER—1861 — "Fort Sumter Surrenders"—full account ..... 35¢

C74—REWARD POSTER by Governor of Mo. for Jesse or Frank James or any of their gang...train was robbed, conductor killed, 1881 . . . very scarce item ..... 25¢

C75—APPEAL TO INDIANS—1681 by Wm. Penn 25¢

C76—PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN HANDBILL—1880 —Democrats—illustrated — imitates showboat poster and is humorous . . . rare ..... 20¢

C77—CIVIL WAR CARTOON POSTER — Cavalry chases Jeff Davis, disguised as milkmaid. Laugh no matter what side you favor, 20 x 14 ..... 35¢

360—MATRIMONIAL MOOD CHART GUIDE for servants; old, humorous ..... 25¢

361—WELLS, FARGO CHECKS, Carson & Va. City.... 15¢

362—HANDBILL—Clark auto—1910—illustrated.. 25¢

363—HANDBILL—Parry auto—1910—illustrated . 25¢

364—HANDBILL—Cadillac auto—1910—illus. .... 25¢

365—HANDBILL—Jackson auto—1910—illustrated 25¢

366—HANDBILL—Circus, illustrated, bike on wire 25¢

367—CARTOON—1906—predicts Sunday everyone busy auto repairs, illustrated ..... 25¢

368—HANDBILL—Flanders auto—1910—illus..... 25¢

369—HANDBILL—Ford—1905—illustrated ..... 25¢

370—HANDBILL—Stevens—Duryea auto—illus.... 25¢

371—HANDBILL—White auto—1912—quaint illus. 25¢

372—HANDBILL—Chalmers auto—1911—illus.....25¢

373—HANDBILL—Winton auto—1912—illustrated 25¢

374—HANDBILL—Pope auto—1905—illustrated ... 25¢

375—HANDBILL—Ford auto—5 models — from $260 ..... 25¢

376—GEORGE WASHINGTON—1791 — silhouette from life, rare ..... 25¢

377—MARTHA WASHINGTON — 1791 — silhouette from life, rare ..... 25¢

T378—MATADOR, Bullfight, in full colors, 15¼ x 11½ ..... 75¢

379—ENLISTMENT POSTER—1777—Amer. Rev. .... 30¢

380—ENLISTMENT POSTER—Revolution, British ask 'serve during rebellion' ..... 30¢

381—GATLING GUN POSTER—illustration, comp.. 20¢

382—LADIES CORSET ADVERTISEMENTS, illustrated, now funny, once serious ..... 25¢

383—TAVERN POSTER — 1760 — prices fixed by Court ..... 30¢

384—CIVIL WAR POSTER — 1863 — gives prices farmers must accept from Army ..... 25¢

385—LINCOLN STATEMENT—1843—says Congress cannot interfere with slavery ..... 30¢

386—HANDBILL—shows 4 negroes or 2 horses operate Cotton Press ..... 30¢

387—PRIVATEERS—instructions—signed J. Monroe, Scty of State ..... 15¢

388—REWARD POSTER 1797 ½¢ Runaway Seaman ..... 20¢

389—OLD ADVERTISEMENT—Pneumatic Bust— illustrated (for women) ..... 15¢

390—CARTER HANDBILL — uplifted skirt, risque for its time, humorous ..... 15¢

391—CARTOON—1774—designed by B. Franklin, rare & interesting ..... 30¢

392—HANDBILL—1870—horses used for machine power, illustrated ..... 20¢

393—FIRST US PATENT—1790—signed G. Wash. 20¢

394—AIRSHIP c 1850—illustration is fantastic prediction, crossing ocean ..... 20¢

395—PRIZE FIGHT—1886—woodcut J. L. Sullivan revives opponent ..... 25¢

396—PHONOGRAPH POSTER—1899—Edison, 1st phonograph, 13½ x 11, illustrated ..... 40¢

397—FOOTBALL POSTER—1880—quaint uniforms, rare, illustrations, 17 x 11 ..... 40¢

398—INDIAN illustrated ad of Sapolio, quickly civilizes Indians ..... 20¢

399—RIFLE HANDBILL, shoots 26 shots in 60 seconds, illustrated ..... 20¢

400—REWARD POSTER—person attempted assassinate W. Seward, Secty State ..... 25¢

401—MAGNA CARTA & complete translation $1.50

402—POSTER—1924—Paul Whiteman & George Gershwin give Concert ..... 30¢

403—EXHIBITION POSTER—1845—laughing gas demonstration ..... 25¢

404—FENCE WIRE POSTER, rare, historical ..... 30¢

405—LINCOLN & HAMLIN 1860 campaign ribbon, rare picture Lincoln ..... 20¢

406—LINCOLN's Letter to Mrs. Bixby, 1864..... 25¢

407—SHARPSHOOTERS — 1861 — scenes training Civil War, rifle used ..... 25¢

408—MOVIE POSTER—'The Sheik' Rudolf Valentino, photos ..... 85¢

409—HANDBILL 1843—shows costumes of seaman in play, unique ..... 30¢

410—ORDER 1864—Confederate, send slaves to work ..... 30¢

411—HANDBILL—c. 1900—2 pictures—boys on pot —'I drink union beer & I drink scab beer'—odd & humorous appeal by Union ..... 40¢

412—RED AUTO HANDBILL—1907—illustrated ..... 25¢

413—HANDBILL—Franklin-auto-air-cooled eng..... 25¢

414—HANDBILL—St. Louis auto—illustrated ..... 25¢

415—HANDBILL—Courier auto—illustrated ..... 25¢

416—HANDBILL—Rambler—1907—illustrated ..... 25¢

417—HANDBILL—man proposes to woman because served Beef Extract—illustrated, c. 1880 ... 25¢

418—HANDBILL—Men's shirt collars—1851—illustrated, scarce ..... 25¢

Minimum order $2. Add 25¢ for mailing tube. 25¢ for catalog listing over 500 posters.

PIONEER HISTORICAL SOCIETY DEPT. NR HARRIMAN, TENN. 37748

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The First All-Label, No-Obligation Discount Record Service to Offer All These Advantages

BIG DISCOUNTS! Generally at least 33⅓% . . . in some cases up to 75%!

FREE CHARGE ACCOUNT! Charge all your purchases . . . an exclusive Records Unlimited feature!

UNLIMITED SELECTION! Any record on any label available in the U.S.!

NO MINIMUM PURCHASE REQUIRED! Order only the records you want . . . when you want them!

Plus a unique extra bonus . . .

SELECT ANY RECORD OF YOUR CHOICE—FREE

if you join now and pay the modest *lifetime* enrollment fee

Now . . . a record-buying service that has all the advantages you've been looking for — Records Unlimited! It gives you big discounts on *all* records, *all* labels — *with no minimum purchase required.* And you buy *on credit* with at-home shopping convenience! What's more, you get your first record *free* for joining right now!

No other service, club or method of buying records offers all this *without obligation of any kind!*

No obligations — No limitations

If you buy records regularly — 5, 7 or 12 a year — you probably like to make your selections from a variety of labels. And you don't want the commitment to buy a specified number of records. What you *do* want are the most generous discounts that can be offered on every one of the records you buy!

You get *all* these advantages *only* with Records Unlimited!

Discounts up to 75%

Though you have no obligation to buy any records, every record you *do* buy will have a big discount . . . generally 33⅓% off the manufacturers' suggested list price (see the chart).

You can choose *any* 12" long-playing record of *any* label available in the United States. In some cases we are able to offer discounts up to 75%! And remember, Records Unlimited is the only all-label service that lets you charge your records!

Free Buying Guides

You will learn about these special savings regularly through your *free* copies of the Records Unlimited buying guide, which will carry listings of new releases and best-selling hit records in all fields of music . . . classical, folk, pop, teen, Broadway, etc. You can take advantage of the *super* discounts, or order *any* record you want at our regular *low* discount prices (plus a small mailing and handling charge). All records, of course, are brand-new and guaranteed to be in perfect playing condition.

BIG DISCOUNTS ON ALL LABELS

See for Yourself!

Manufacturers' Suggested List Prices*	RECORDS UNLIMITED
$1.79 through $1.98	$1.19
2.49 through 2.78	1.66
3.49 through 3.78	2.33
3.79 through 3.98	2.49
4.79 through 4.98	3.09
5.79 through 5.98	3.79
6.79 through 6.98	4.49

(Certain hard-to-get records somewhat higher)

Special-Price Records Each Month!
Leading Labels . . . . . $.99 • $1.19 • $1.66
(Originally sold for up to $4.79*)
*In some areas, records may be purchased at below manufacturers' suggested list prices.

First Record Free

Your first record is *free*, if you join now and pay the modest $2.50 *lifetime* enrollment fee. And you can select your free record *now* from the best-selling records shown on this page, or you can pick any other record currently available in the United States.

Mail Coupon Today

Just fill out and mail the coupon, along with your check or money order for $2.50 to cover your *lifetime* enrollment. We'll send the free record of your choice promptly. You'll also receive a copy of the current Records Unlimited buying guide, listing hundreds of records available to members at special discount prices.

Note: Since stereo records may now be played on monaural (regular high-fidelity) phonographs, and cost no more than monaural records, all of your records will be sent in stereo.

records unlimited
Harmony, Indiana

CHOOSE A RECORD FREE—NOW!

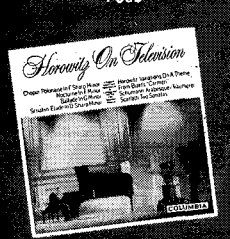
Take any one of these hit albums — or any other record you want!

7085

6876

7168

95420



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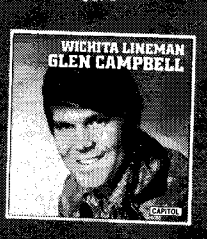

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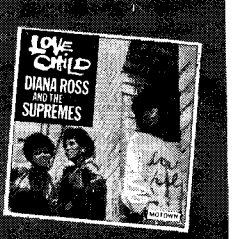

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Records Unlimited
Box 500, Harmony, Indiana 47853

I'm enclosing my $2.50 *lifetime* enrollment fee. Please send me this record — free:

Title . . . . . .

Label . . . . . .

Catalog No. . . . . .

Also send me a copy of the current Records Unlimited buying guide. I understand that enrollment includes no obligation to purchase any records at any time, but I can order the records I want at Records Unlimited discount prices and charge them to my account.

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State . . . . . Zip Code . . . . .

620-6/T3

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RU-158/S69

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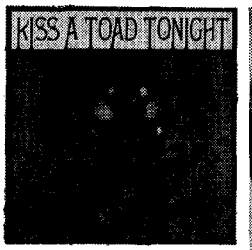
MARBORO'S VERITABLE ORGY OF POSTERS

Mod ▪ Psychedelic ▪ Cinematic ▪ Pop ▪ Love ▪ Peace ▪ Art Nouveau ▪ Fine Art

Mostly in color (see descriptions), mostly huge (see sizes!), surprisingly inexpensive (see prices). No frames needed. Tack them up!

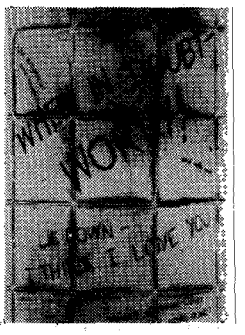
$1 AND UP

P876. MARIE. Photograph in full color—a huge 29¼" x 52½". *Only* **1.98**



P775. KISS A TOAD TONIGHT. In red and black on a green-gold background. 25½" x 25½". *Special* **1.49**

P837. Chagall: THE PRAYING JEW. In dark tones, icy blue-white, and yellow-green; 18¼" x 24" on heavy stock. *Pub. at $7.50.* *Only* **2.98**



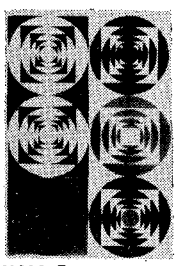
P681. Portfolio: GRAFFITI GRAPHICS. Authentic graffiti from restrooms, subway stations, etc. 11" x 17" ea. *Portfolio of 4, Special* **1.00**

P954. LORILLARD'S SNUFF. In browns, grays, black on heavy blue stock. 20" x 26". *Only* **1.98**

P667. ENDLESS SUMMER. Hues of fuchsia, orange and mango with figures in black. 29¼" x 40". *Special* **1.98**

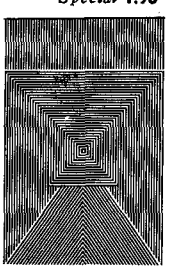
P916. Goya: LE JEU DE COLIN-MAILLARD. Late 18th century masterpiece in sunny tones of blue, brown and cream with red and yellow highlights; 22½" x 18" on heavy art stock. *Pub. at $7.50.* *Only* **2.98**

P915. Ben Shahn: THE RED STAIRWAY. In striking blues with a dominating stairway in red; 26½" x 18" on heavy art stock. *Pub. at $7.50.* *Only* **2.98**



P789. SIGNALS. In dayglo fuchsia, dayglo green and rust. 25" wide x 38" high. *Only* **1.00**

P760. GO SLO. In blue and dayglo yellow. 25" x 38". *Only* **1.00**



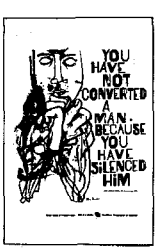
P756. Hausman: GATES OF HELL. Psychedelic reds, greens. 25" x 38". *Only* **1.00**

P427. Picasso: STUDIES FOR MOTHER AND CHILD. On *genuine artists' canvas*—Silkscreen in a soft brown on a chestnut background. 16" x 20¼" on canvas 18" x 23". *Special* **2.98**

P840. Andrew Wyeth: CHRISTINA'S WORLD. Harvest colors on fine art stock 16⅛" x 24". *Only* **7.49**

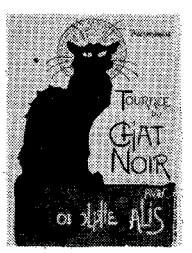
P922. VIVA CHAVEZ —VIVA LA HUELGA. Grape strikers poster in subdued brown, green, red. 30" x 45". *Only* **3.95**

P849. Durer: THE KNIGHT, DEATH & THE DEVIL (1513). In sepia on white art stock. 21" x 26¾" image area. *Special* **2.98**

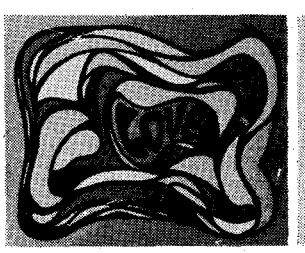


P858. Ben Shahn: YOU HAVE NOT CONVERTED A MAN BECAUSE YOU HAVE SILENCED HIM. Black & brown on white. 30" x 45". *Only* **3.95**

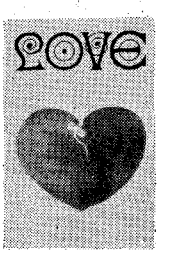
P794. YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE JEWISH TO LOVE *LEVY'S*. Full Color; 30" x 45". *Only* **3.95**



P817. Steinlen: TOURNEE DU CHAT NOIR. In red & black on cream-yellow stock; 21¼" x 29⅛". *Special Import* **1.98**



P921. LOVE. Psychedelic reds, blue, purple, yellow, green, black. 40½" x 33" on heavy stock. *Only* **3.98**



P634. LOVE (WITH A BAND-AID). In lavender ink & orange on a white background. 22" x 35". *Special* **1.49**

P910

P913

P909

P908

P907

P905

P900

P899

P903

RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY POSTERS 1.00 EACH

All are 19" x 27".

Sometimes Funny, Sometimes Sad, These Exhortations Reveal the Naive Fervor of the Desperate Struggle to Rally the People to the Revolutionary Causes During the Years 1917-1928.

P895. MOUNT YOUR HORSES, WORKERS & PEASANTS! THE RUSSIAN CAVALRY IS THE GUARANTEE OF VICTORY. In green, gray, brown, gold, dark red.
P897. LITERACY IS THE ROAD TO COMMUNISM. Literacy campaign poster; in brown and gold.
P899. MAY DAY—Long Live the Holiday of the Workers of All Lands. In cream, gold, green on red background.
P898. WOMEN WORKERS & PEASANTS: To the Polls, All of You! Form Bands with the Men Under the Red Banner. Let Us Terrify the Bourgeoisie. In red and black and white.
P900. COMRADE LENIN SWEEPS AWAY THE FILTH OF THE WORLD. Subdued colors on white.
P901. FEBRUARY 23, 1919—THE RED ARMY IS THE GUARDIAN OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION. In red & red-brown.
P902. REVOLUTION OF 1905. In red & black.
P903. BLOODY SUNDAY. In reds, browns, yellow on white.
P904. YOUNG LENINISTS ARE THE CHILDREN OF ILYICH. In red, blue, green, black on white.
P905. REMEMBER THE STARVING. In blue, green, brown on white.
P906. JOIN THE RED CAVALRY. In red & green on white.
P907. FORWARD IN THE DEFENSE OF THE URALS. In brown on white.
P908. HELP! — ENLIST IN THE RANKS OF MOPR. In red & brown on white.
P909. MAY DAY 1920. In red, red-brown, brown.
P910. HELP! In black on white.
P911. THE ENEMY WANTS TO TAKE MOSCOW, THE HEART OF SOVIET RUSSIA. THE ENEMY MUST BE DESTROYED—FORWARD COMRADES! In black & gold on white.
P912. WRANGEL IS STILL ALIVE! FINISH HIM OFF WITHOUT MERCY. In red & black on white.
P913. YOU ARE STILL NOT A MEMBER OF THE COOPERATIVE? — JOIN AT ONCE! In dark red and yellow on white background.
P914. THE FINAL HOUR. In full color.

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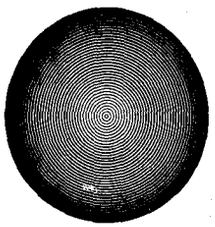
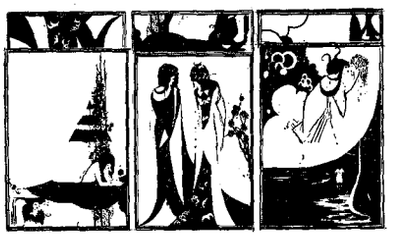


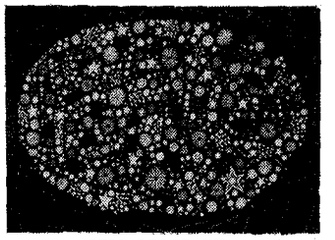
P677. TARGET. *HUGE* in blinding red, yellow, black and white. 40″ x 40″. *Special* **1.98**

P955. BLANCHE RING. The famed actress in a very dark brown-maroon on heavy egg shell brown stock. 23″ x 33½″. *Only* **1.98**

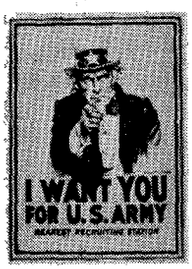


P619. Aubrey Beardsley: SALOME PORTFOLIO. Silkscreens in black on heavy white stock, with cover in black on orange. Each 10″ x 14″. *Portfolio of 6 Drawings. Only* **1.98**

P737. Picasso: DON QUIXOTE. On genuine artists' canvas —Silkscreen in black on white canvas. 20″ x 24″. *Special* **2.98**



P706. PEACE. "Peace" in a sky of stars and flowers, surrounded by pine boughs; iridescent reds & greens with white and red-brown. 30″ x 19¾″. *Special* **1.00**



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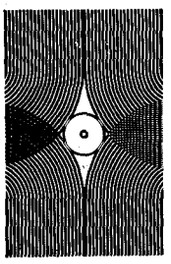

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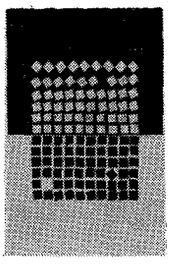

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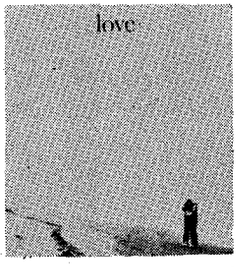

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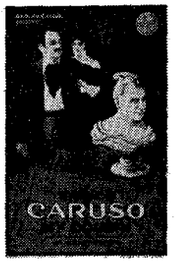

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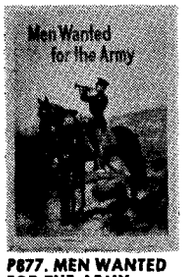

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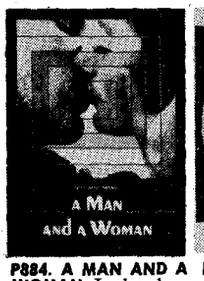

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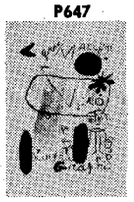

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From Washington

A Terrifying Epitaph

Once we argued with President Kennedy. He had said something which, we felt, required immediate protest. As we recall it, as he came through the plane after the speech, we jumped him; he had garbled a quotation of Simonides of Ceos (556-468 BC).

Kennedy had put the terrifying epitaph in some kind of cheapening rhymed couplet. The phrase was supposed to go above the grave of Greek soldiers lying in a foreign battlefield. Simonides composed one of the most starkly tragic sentences ever penned by man. At the graveside the visitor would read: "Stranger, tell the Athenians that we lie here in obedience to their orders." Only this; nothing more.

Thirty-thousand young men have been killed in Vietnam. "Stranger, tell the Americans that we lie here in obediance to their orders." Others are killed every day. And the slaughter of Vietnamese in the 20-year war goes on and on and is vastly greater.

Henry A. Kissinger has the lead piece in the current *Foreign Affairs* on "The Vietnam Negotiations." If you have $2 it is worth buying. When President Nixon at his first press conference described the difficulty of ordering a cease-fire in a guerrilla war he was quoting Kissinger – his new super foreign policy adviser. Some day the terrible question must be asked, Did those 30,000 die in vain? It could be the most lacerating question in a generation. If we read between the lines correctly, Kissinger has little use for the escalated war. But his article is not on that, it is on how to get us out. It was written, of course, before he took office but we expect it forecasts Nixon policy.

Vietnam, in this column's opinion, was the worst US foreign policy blunder in our time. If it were just a matter of saving "face," or preserving so-called national honor (in the patrioteer's sense) we would quit in a minute. But we think there are reasons, however much idealists may rage at the concession, for a more tempered withdrawal. Most of the world condemns us for getting into the affair. But, like it or not, we have made commitments. Do we simply abandon them? In addition to being charged with stupidity, we would then be quietly set down as unreliable – in Europe, in the Middle East, in Japan, say.

Let us put it in familiar terms: you may feel your big brother has made an ass of himself by getting into a needless quarrel but, at the same time, you don't want to see him cut and run because you may need his protection some day under legitimate circumstances. That seems to be what Kissinger is saying, at least as we interpret it.

Let there be no mistake about it. We think Mr. Nixon must extricate us from the mess we are in. He has a period of grace; not very long. We think he is a lucky man in some ways; he begins his Presidency in a kind of poker game in which he has drawn three aces. We think he will get some kind of peace in Vietnam and will retrieve LBJ's blunder. That will make him look good; that is one ace. The second is Soviet Russia: Moscow gives signs of wanting to trade. On Nixon's desk is a Communist proposal to finish off the nonproliferation treaty, a proposal to start talks on limiting both defensive and offensive nuclear weapons, and an invitation to discuss the Middle East. Nixon could do much here and it would make him look good. The third ace is Red China. China is nervous about Russia, hates Moscow worse than Washington (with reason), and out of the blue came a Chinese invitation to resume Warsaw talks, Feb. 20.

What an opportunity! Who can charge *Richard Nixon* with being soft on Communism? In the Peking-Moscow rivalry the US has a remarkable diplomatic chance. To throw away such aces as fate has dealt him will take real skill.

You would think that to expose hunger among children and to try to feed them would bring universal approval. But not in this strange city of Washington. It has brought denunciation, investigation by the FBI, and an angry attack from the offices of a powerful research organization that feeds material into the Pentagon, the Institute of Defense Analyses (the IDA the boys protest on college campuses).

Poage's Eyes

Last year a series of private research reports culminating in an hour-long CBS documentary exposed the shocking fact that there is hunger and malnutrition in affluent America. But the corollary was that the multi-billion farm price-support program is keeping up prices for growers (many of them wealthy) rather than feeding the hungry (many of them Negroes). So this is what happened.

Texas Congressman Poage, chairman of the House Agriculture committee and grand factotum of the Farm Establishment, queried health officers in affected counties who answered that they knew nothing about hunger.

You probably didn't know it, but Poage has FBI agents attached to his committee and these were sent out to question frightened Negroes who had unwisely testified that they weren't getting enough to eat.

Orville Freeman protested bitterly. An economist from the University of Illinois surmised it was "one more poverty hoax" (the same man in the *US News & World Report* in 1967 dismissed as "hogwash" what he termed "the new poverty cult"). Strangest reaction of all was a full-length attack by Herbert Pollack, a physician attached to IDA and seemingly sponsored by it. Why does the military-industrial complex want to minimize domestic malnutrition, and what hidden debts is it paying?

For the last week or so the director of a survey ordered by Congress in 1967 has given Sen. McGovern's select committee incontrovertible evidence of shocking malnutrition among the poor, particularly children in key areas. Other witnesses have linked lifetime mental retardation with malnutrition in infancy and in the womb. Dr. Schaefer of HEW whose staff is making the survey was questioned by the FBI, he told the senators, as to his motives. Chairman Poage has eyes everywhere.

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Arms Talks

In a nationally broadcast speech on October 24, Mr. Nixon declared his intention to "restore our objective of clear-cut military superiority" over the Soviet Union. On November 9, this journal called it "a disgraceful speech" and prophesied, "If Richard Nixon is the next President, he will certainly regret that speech. He will find himself compelled to retract, in action if not in words, much of it and the kindred assertions that preceded and followed it."

At his first press conference last week, the President was pointedly reminded that "both you and Secretary Laird have stressed, quite hard, the need for superiority over the Soviet Union." Mr. Nixon's ready response was that he won't talk about superiority any more, because "when we talk about superiority, that may have a detrimental effect on the other side, in putting it in an inferior position, and therefore giving great impetus to its own [sic] arms race." Perhaps he had read Soviet Premier Kosygin's remarks to Senators Gore and Pell, last fall. When the Senators visited the Kremlin, Kosygin told them that "a striving for superiority of armaments would make an arms race inevitable."

Anyhow, Mr. Nixon has retracted his campaign words. He says arms "sufficiency" rather than "superiority" describes his goal. But is or isn't he going to push on with a full, $40-to-$100 billion antiballistic missile system (during the campaign he hinted he would), and with the 10-headed hydrogen missiles that are the Johnson Administration's answer to Russia's ABM? He furnished the White House newsmen with a definition of "sufficiency" that is hardly less far-reaching than "superiority." Sufficiency means "sufficient military power to defend our interests and to maintain the commitments which this Administration determines are in the interests of the United States around the world." In brief, whatever Mr. Nixon chooses to have. He told newsmen that "simply reducing arms through mutual agreement . . . will not in itself assure peace." That is true and trite and misses the point that there isn't all that much time. Clark Clifford has warned that we "stand on the eve of a new round in the armaments race with the Soviet Union, which will contribute nothing to the real security of either side while increasing substantially the already great defense burdens on both." Hubert Humphrey agrees: "Once you start moving into a new area of

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weaponry, you can't stop it." Clifford and Humphrey were members of an Administration that had started to move into a new area of weaponry: missiles with multiple warheads, an ABM system. The Russians aren't a whit behind in foolishness, with their ABM and boasts about having a nuclear bomb able to go into semi-orbit and descend suddenly from the skies on other countries. President Nixon has a fleeting chance to head-off this madness. The Russians are anxious, for their own reasons, to talk with him about arms control. They have practically begged him to name the day.

In seeming to dally, Mr. Nixon may only be seeking to follow Henry Kissinger's advice to consult allies and examine all the implications of new military developments. Meantime, however, the Army picks its ABM sites – Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle. Work is due to begin on a new missile called SCAD (Subsonic Cruise Armed Decoy) that carries a hydrogen bomb and is intended to confuse and destroy Russian air defenses, so that American bombers can fly over Soviet cities in spite of the Russian ABM. That in turn provides a rationale for brand-new American bombers; Senator Goldwater has already flown and praised the controversial F-111 bomber, calling it a good "carry-on" plane, pending the arrival on the scene of 200 or so supersonic AMSA's (Advanced Manned Strategic Aircraft). Last year, spending for research and development of military aircraft rose 45.5 percent, and missile procurement 20 percent. The Russians try to catch up, at least in numbers of land and sea missiles. Nothing is added to either nation's security. Russian missiles are five or six years out of style, they are only now approaching a 1959 Polaris missile for their submarines, while the US Navy moves toward a multi-bomb Poseidon missile. The Soviet ABM according to Clark Clifford "resembles in certain important respects the Nike-Zeus system, which we abandoned years ago because of limited effectiveness." Yet it was in reaction to the Soviet ABM that the Johnson Administration decided to have more and more powerful missiles, making Robert S. McNamara's comment a self-fulfilling one: "Whatever [Soviet] intentions or our intentions, actions – or even realistically potential actions – on either side relating to the build-up of nuclear forces necessarily trigger reactions on the other side. It is precisely this action-reaction phenomenon that fuels an arms race . . . clearly the Soviet build-up is in part a reaction to our own build-up since the beginning of the 1960's" – a build-up that McNamara decided to continue and to accelerate, even while deploring its consequences.

And Mr. Nixon's new Arms Control Director Gerard C. Smith rightly insists this cycle must be broken. The US and Russia with a "sufficiency" of suicidal weapons can each destroy the other, but not without receiving a mortal wound in exchange.

Democratic Reform

Five months have passed since the ill-starred 1968 Democratic National Convention adjourned, yet no action has been taken to implement the far-reaching party reform resolution adopted by a roll-call vote on the Convention floor. The delay has already assumed proportions that will seriously encumber enforcement. More disquieting, it appears to reflect an ambivalence on the part of the present party leadership toward the Convention's mandate and its objective – to assure that delegates to the 1972 Convention will be seated only if they have been selected "through a process in which all Democratic voters have had full and timely opportunity to participate."

The Democratic National Chairman, Senator Fred Harris, holds in his hands the power to make real the promise of the reforms, or to scuttle them. For the Convention vested in the Chairman responsibility to appoint chairmen and members of a "Special Committee on Delegate Selection" to aid the state parties in accommodating their rules, practices, and where necessary, the laws of their states to the standards that will govern in 1972. On the dispatch with which those appointments are made, their quality, and the seriousness with which their task is viewed, much depends.

At this moment, legislatures are meeting in three of the eight to 10 states where new legislation is needed in order to conform delegate selection procedures to the Convention mandate. In each of the three, Wyoming, Arkansas and Idaho, the legislatures will soon recess and are not scheduled to reconvene until 1971, past the time when laws now on the books in those states provide for the selection of delegates to the national conventions of major parties. Consequently, the prospects for avoiding a 1972 credentials challenge in these states are fading fast. Nor will such possibilities long remain confined to states where laws must be exacted from legislatures that meet infrequently. According to Iowa Senator Harold E. Hughes, speaking on the January 26 edition of ABC's *Issues and Answers*, nearly a score of state parties are today out of compliance with the Convention resolution. If the precise application of its terms to each of these situations is not settled in time to establish appropriately democratic delegate selection machinery, the 1972 Credentials Committee will host a row as intractable as that which marred the Chicago proceedings.

On several public occasions Senator Harris has stressed his personal commitment, as well as his official obligation to revitalize the party through unswerving fidelity to the Convention's command to democratize the delegate selection process. For these professions, the new Chairman deserves commendation. Unfortunately, his actions do not inspire the same confidence as do his words. In the first place, he has chosen

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to prolong the already too-long delay in putting the machinery in place by appointing the Special Committee. He has announced that he has sent letters to several hundred party leaders throughout the country requesting advice on appointments. This may impress local leaders with the force of the reform mandate, but it is bound to delay the appointment date substantially, perhaps by as much as a month or more.

Moreover, Senator Harris has shown an inhospitable attitude toward the notion of appointing Senator Harold Hughes as Chairman of the Special Committee. Hughes, who enjoys the support of Senators McCarthy and Kennedy (but who campaigned for Humphrey), initiated the party reform effort in July by assembling the Commission on the Democratic Selection of Presidential Nominees; the Hughes Commission's report to the National Convention urged the adoption of measures like those ultimately incorporated in the reform resolution. The reasons for opposing his selection as Chairman of the Special Committee are flimsy: that Hughes was anti-LBJ on Vietnam and a member of the Kennedy-McCarthy camp; or, that his keen interest in the reform resolution makes him anathema to influential leaders and financial backers in areas like Texas and Oklahoma, where the resolution will bite most deeply if it is faithfully enforced.

The final sign of possible trouble on the party reform front appears in the terms of the grant of authority that Harris obtained from the Democratic National Committee at its meeting in Washington, D. C. on January 14. This committee resolution purports to "reaffirm" the action of the Convention and so affirm the Chairman's obligation to carry it out. But a careful reading reveals passages that may forecast an intent to soft-pedal the key reform provision – the Convention's requirement that all state delegate selection systems be open to voter participation *"within the calendar year* of the Convention." As reported by Paul Wieck, (*NR* July 27, 1968) over 600 votes (nearly 25 percent) at the Chicago convention were cast by delegates effectively selected one year or more before the Convention was held – long before either the issues or the candidates were identifiable by the public. This disenfranchisement of substantial portions of the party's nationwide membership was the main inspiration of the Hughes Commission; its elimination was the minimum objective of the reform resolution.

Harris' new DNC resolution, while acknowledging that the Convention mandate "clearly prohibits" use of the unit rule, conspicuously refrains from saying that untimely selection of delegates is similarly "prohibited." In a covering memorandum appended by the Democratic National Committee to copies of the January 14 document, Harris reiterates that the Convention resolution "outlaws" the unit rule in delegate selection, but says only that it "urges" that delegates be selected "democratically in the year of the Convention." Inadvertence may well account for the difference between "prohibit" and "outlaw" on the one hand, and "urge" on the other. Perhaps this innocent interpretation is the accurate one. If it is, Chairman Harris can allay suspicions to the contrary by promptly and publicly setting such misimpressions straight. However, if the unfortunate wording of the January 14 document is calculated, it bespeaks devious intent. In this event, the majority of Convention delegates who voted for the original resolution in August, and especially, the sponsors of the Minority Rules Committee Report that brought the resolution to the floor, should be aware of these actions being taken by the party leadership in their name.

Is Bucher to Blame?

The Navy has warned Commander Lloyd M. Bucher, skipper of the *Pueblo*, that he might be court-martialed for violating Article 0730 of Navy regulations when his intelligence ship was seized off the North Korean coast on January 23, 1968. The Article says: "The commanding officer shall not permit his command to be searched by any person representing a foreign state nor permit any of the personnel under his command to be removed from the command by such person, so long as he has the power to resist." If it is to prove guilt, the Navy would have to show that Bucher violated military law while under the operational control of the Navy at the time and place of the alleged misdeed. Was he and was the *Pueblo*? If so, the Navy must establish first that it had proper authority from higher government sources to operate a secret intelligence mission of the highest classification in international waters off a hostile coast in time of peace. This authority is not vested in the military during peacetime; it can be authorized only after deliberate and specific approval of the mission by the President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense and the Director of Central Intelligence.

It is more probable that the Navy had been directed to serve another government agency, perhaps the CIA, and that Bucher had been ordered to provide support of a specific mission or a series of related missions, for which a government agency other than the Navy had been assigned responsibility. In this case, Bucher would have taken his operational orders from the mission commander of the other agency. Bucher may not even have had any idea what the top-secret gear, which he was supposed to have protected at all cost or to have destroyed, was. In any event, the Commander can hardly be found by a Navy court-martial to have violated its military law, unless the Navy is

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willing to accept full responsibility for this mission; or unless higher authority is determined, now that someone is going to have to take the rap, to make it appear that the Navy did have this responsibility.

These considerations are equally applicable to the allegation that Commander Bucher violated the Navy's Code of Conduct. This Code is applicable only to military mer. in overt military action during a military situation, which the *Pueblo* crew certainly was not. It does not apply to spies. The last thing expected of a spy is ethical behavior of any kind, least of all as a last resort. During the Court of Inquiry, there has been too much protest over failure to destroy top-secret electronics gear. If the *Pueblo* was really on an electronics intelligence (ELINT) mission, why did it have to take up a station so close to a known hostile shore? That requirement is quite unusual and quite unnecessary for an ELINT mission, which leads to the suspicion that the *Pueblo* was on some other type of mission, such as infiltration.

All along it has been clear that neither the Navy nor CIA provided minimum surveillance and protection for this ship, or for the *Liberty*, a similar spy vessel which was destroyed earlier with heavy loss of life off the coast of Israel. Why should the Navy charge that Commander Bucher failed to use his guns to the last bullet and to the last man, when the Navy itself made no provision for the use of its own vast firepower? At what level does this responsibility cease to apply? If the skipper of the *Pueblo* is culpable, is not the Chief of Naval Operations equally at fault?

Consider what might have happened if Bucher had been provided with all of the guns he requested, and had used them, and having used them, had triggered greater retaliation from the Koreans. How far up the scale is the Navy prepared to go in such situations? Judging from what happened to the *Liberty* and the *Pueblo*, the Navy prefers to accept the loss of these ships one by one, and then to court-martial the skipper if he survives. National policy may dictate that military men and material be put at the service of other government agencies during peacetime to assist in the performance of clandestine missions in order to keep the military establishment "pure." This should not, however, result in the kind of flummery which has been seen before in the blundering attempt of NASA to provide a tissue-thin cover story for Gary Powers' U-2 which failed over Russia, or in the degrading disorganization of the Bay of Pigs, which was blamed on the military services. These, and now the *Liberty* and *Pueblo* incidents, are examples of the failure of the CIA and the military services to provide proper command control and protection for military men used in secret peacetime missions.

It would be hypocritical and false to press the court-martial of Commander Bucher. He has suffered enough for the failure of others. It would not be wrong, however, to initiate a thorough and effective review of the national policy directives governing the utilization of military manpower, material and money in peacetime for clandestine purposes under the operational control of other government agencies. Had this been done years ago we might not now be so ineffectually mired in Vietnam, we might have better relations with Pakistan, we might have a cleaner slate with Greece and Turkey. If such a review is not carried out at an early date – and not by the Navy – another skipper of another spy ship on another mission may do exactly what the hindsight experts are saying Bucher should have done, and this man may ignite a holocaust none of us will survive to write about.

Black Suspicion of Nixon

The Administration, we are told, truly does want Negroes in high-ranking jobs and is making every effort to accord recognition in this and more substantial forms to the black community. To an extent, this is true: HUD Secretary George Romney came up last week with excellent appointments of two Negroes, nationally known arbitrator Samuel C. Jackson and Samuel J. Simmons, who was recruited from the executive staff of the Civil Rights Commission, to be assistant secretaries. Mr. Jackson is to have the status, in effect, of a second Under Secretary, sharing responsibility with the titular Under Secretary and Mr. Romney for the entire range of HUD concerns. HEW Secretary Robert Finch said in a recent *Life* interview that the glaring shortage to date of such appointments throughout the new Administration is attributable mainly to the sheer reluctance of sought-after blacks to join up. He and other Nixon men at the top levels say this with a plaintive note of wonder, as if it were a baffling phenomenon.

It should not be. Even putting aside Candidate Nixon's veiled indications to Southern politicians and white voters that his Administration would go easy with federally enforced school desegregation and the overtones of his law-and-order campaign theme, many black Americans just don't like what they sense in the total Nixon attitude to date. Civil rights, for example, is placed under a "sub-head" in a preliminary list of suggested legislation submitted to the President by his distinguished Counsellor, Arthur F. Burns. Secretary Finch, who has convinced all who have been in touch with him that he sincerely wants to administer HEW's civil-rights responsibilities firmly and fairly, nevertheless has to announce that Mrs. Ruby Martin, a Negro lawyer who has headed the department's Office of Civil Rights since 1967, has refused to stay on at

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a higher rank. "Her departure," he says, "will be a severe loss to the Department." Over the weekend when this news appeared, other reports not denied by the Secretary said that with White House approval he was about to suspend Mrs. Martin's recent order to withhold federal school funds from six and maybe more school districts in North and South Carolina and Mississippi that had stubornly refused to desegregate and otherwise comply satisfactorily with the department's modest requirements. On the morning of the last day (Wednesday of last week) when he could legally suspend Mrs. Martin's withholding order, he had not consulted her about it or told her what he was going to do. She reasonably concluded, knowing as she did how Mr. Finch's own inclinations ran, that he was under severe pressure from the Nixon White House to satisfy the demands of the new President's Southern supporters in Congress. Finch, at the very last moment, withheld the funds temporarily, subject to reinvestigation of five cases. The experience had removed any doubts that Mrs. Martin may have had that she had correctly judged that she and other Negroes with her concern for basic rights would not be comfortable in this Administration.

School Managers

by Joseph Featherstone

Some years ago, Raymond E. Calahan traced and lamented the rise of a professional "science" of education and school management in this country. *Education and the Cult of Efficiency* was a gloomy meditation on some of the consequences of the fact that the traditions of our schools are largely shaped by the idealizations of business efficiency and economy that were so characteristic of the Progressive era. However good or kind our school administrators have been, they often found themselves operating in institutional settings where it was important to think of schools as turning out products. This has not necessarily made the schools cheap or efficient, but it has had something to do with making them inhumane and casual about the true interests of the children. No one should doubt that these traditions are very much alive today. It is still common for a principal to give you an elaborate tour of his plant without once touching on the kids, the teachers, or what is being learned. This sort of principal will, if you permit him, talk about heating systems, blackboards, and audio-visual equipment, but he has the true manager's reluctance to enter into considerations of software. (I think this emphasis might also have something to do with the awesome power wielded by the janitors and custodians.)

It would be fascinating if a historian as able as Calahan would take up the institutional side of the story and show how sluggish big city school bureaucracies are, like vast coral reefs, the products of successive waves of administrative reforms reflecting Progressive doctrine. This historian would have to show how generations of reformers struggled to make the schools businesslike, efficient, honest, and above all, apolitical. He would have to chronicle how successive immigrant groups manipulated the merit system with its exams and intricacies as a bulwark to fend off other groups, making the schools an ethnic preserve. And he would have to describe how, in time, great flaws appeared in the reform pattern: schools were not really apolitical, they promoted interests of distinct groups. They served a powerful caste of administrators and bureaucrats at the expense of teachers. They made the schools nearly impervious to change. They had little to do with children's learning.

This is where we are in a place like New York, where black, Puerto Rican and some white parents are demanding that public schools be held accountable for their failures to teach, a demand that flies in the face of all the entrenched interests. Parents are using test scores – a characteristic product of the system – to discredit the system. It is too early to tell whether they can succeed, although it is vital that they do. The tragic divisions between the United Federation of Teachers and black parents – which now seem almost irreparable – have blurred the compelling need for some sort of decentralization, simply to get The Board of Education out of the way. David Rogers' study of the New York educational bureaucracy, *110 Livingston St.*, offers fat documentation of the lies, chicanery, incompetence, and resistance to change of the school's managers during years of efforts to get some kind of integration. (That the board was being asked to pursue a goal few whites in the city really wanted, and that a number of blacks have come to question does not alter the picture he paints of the board's opposition to doing things differently.) Rogers argues, using many convincing examples, that the present structure of education in the city is incapable of change. This is what makes the present situation so bad. The board is not wicked, and it is not always very smart, but it would have taken a Machiavelli to arrange matters as favorably for the bureaucracy and its interests as they are. Under universal attack a few years ago, the school bureaucracy now sits comfortably in the middle while its two major challengers, black parents and the UFT, are at each other's throats. It even stands a chance of retaining much of its power.

This is not the whole story – clearly many of the ills of the city's schools stem from graver social causes than an impassive bureaucracy. But it is part of the story that gets lost. For the pathology of 110 Livingston St. is only an extreme example of some of the

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institutional ailments afflicting American education everywhere. An informative, sardonic book by James D. Koerner asks the question: *Who Controls American Education?* and answers by saying nobody, really – except the professional educators. By professional educators, Koerner does not mean classroom teachers. He means, among other people, the groups who control teachers' education and have a disproportionate influence in the administration of the schools – the National Education Association in its many guises, especially its administrative groups, the state departments of education, the departments and schools of education in colleges and universities, the educational accrediting organizations, and other groups such as school administrators and the people at 110 Livingston St. They do not do much with their power – it is probably not that sort of power – but, as Koerner points out, they have managed to "disenfranchise not only classroom teachers, but academic scholars and the body politic." This state of affairs has come about largely through default, not through any conspiracy. But it is one more reason why it is extraordinarily hard to improve the schools. A few years ago, it looked as though a strong coalition was emerging to challenge the hold of the professionals on the schools, but now only one part of the coalition seems enduring enough to triumph, the militant unions. The rise of collective bargaining and unions strong enough to get decent pay and working conditions for teachers is a welcome development, but if all unions follow the path of the UFT in New York, they may end by contributing very little to real reform, which will have to include parents and lay groups. Teachers ought to have a strong say in what goes on in schools, particularly in their own classrooms. But parents and laymen ought to have a say, too, and, Koerner demonstrates that this is not the case in this country, contrary to what many think. Most of our school systems – small ones, as well as big city mammoths – are fantastically remote from those they serve.

Koerner has assembled a good many studies which all say the same thing: lay boards have very little power over schools. The balance of power is nearly always on the side of the superintendent and the professionals in administration. It is impossible for a layman to become superintendent, even though there is no body of educational expertise to justify the required courses and degrees. (No one thinks it odd that a few professors at the Harvard School of Education, charging handsome consultant fees, pick many of the candidates for important superintendencies.) But beyond such matters as picking superintendents, the educational profession – not teachers – sets standards in teacher training that bear little relation to classroom practice; it establishes inane certification requirements. (New York's totally superfluous, separate Board of Examiners, with all its thousands of separate, often rigged exams, none of them related to any sort of performance, is only the ludicrous extreme of a common art form.) The educators determine the irrelevant course requirements for various positions and specialties; they accredit teacher training institutions; they make it very difficult for school boards all over the country to have any freedom about the sort of people they choose. Try, for instance, to get a poet or a writer to teach English.

Koerner has done a service in pointing out an educational problem that is seldom touched on, but which will figure in all our school controversies over the next decade. The professionals are not retreating, he reports; they are thriving. What they stand for is an important aspect of New York's screaming tragedies, as well as more muted ones in the suburbs.

How's He Doing In the White House?

by John Osborne

Three times in the first week of the Nixon Presidency, on successive afternoons, a White House electrician led the Nixon dogs, a French poodle named Vickie and a tiny Yorkshire terrier named Pasha, through the lobby where reporters and photographers assigned to the White House wait for something to happen. On Monday, while President Nixon was watching his Inaugural parade, the dogs were whisked through the lobby at a fast trot, pulling back on their leashes and evidently resenting the pace. Their keeper let them pause long enough on Tuesday for a White House usher, to say to them, "Just don't decorate the floor," and for their presence to register with the photographers. The cameramen bestirred themselves on Wednesday, some cute pictures appeared in the next day's newspapers and, their mission accomplished, Vickie and Pasha were not seen again in the press lobby.

One of the first announcements from the Nixon press office was that the new Cabinet (minus Interior Secretary Walter J. Hickel, who had still to be confirmed) would assemble in the East Room of the White House at 7:30 a.m. on Wednesday and be sworn in by Chief Justice Warren at 8 a.m. Why at that inhuman hour? Because, the official answer went, "the President is anxious to meet with his Cabinet early in the morning, at 8 a.m." NBC's "Today" show is on the air at that hour. The timing won for President Nixon 25 minutes of national television coverage of an event that he could expect to dominate and did.

The first Nixon week was like that all the way – well managed, staged to get the effects and convey the

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impression that President Nixon wanted to get and convey. It was a good week for him, a good start for the 37th Presidency, and in that sense a good week for the country. He showed his satisfaction with it, the confidence it gave him, by exposing himself at the start of his second week to the trial of a televised press conference, which he had been expected to avoid for a while. The impression he conveyed was that of a modest man, a prosaic and ordinary man, everybody's man, early to work and not imprudently late to bed, at ease in the Presidency and, from the hour of his Inaugural, in firm command of the office and the country.

In command, that is, in the subdued Nixon style. His first public act on his first working day was to call the press to his office in the Oval Room of the West Wing and, in his matter-of-fact way, direct attention to the changes he had already made. Lyndon Johnson's big desk was gone and in its place was a smaller desk of dark, reddish wood that President Woodrow Wilson had first placed in the room and that he, Mr. Nixon, had used at the Capitol when he was General Eisenhower's Vice President. "It's a very simple desk, I like its simplicity," President Nixon said. "As you notice," he also said, "I moved out the TV set and the wires." The "TV set" had been the bank of three sets, each tuned to a major network, that along with muffled AP and UPI tickers had served Mr. Johnson's passion for instant and total access to the news. Mr. Nixon probably did not know just how much of his predecessor's ways and character he had banished. With its elaborate remote controls, the TV installation had cost $13,000. Because Mr. Johnson could not abide waiting for the sets to warm up, the picture tubes were turned on all day and all night, silent and unseen behind the electrically controlled doors of the console except when he pressed (or "mashed," in his word) appropriate buttons at his desk and the doors opened and the sound came up on the channel he wanted to hear. Gone, too, though Mr. Nixon did not draw attention to the fact, were the two official photographers who in Mr. Johnson's time had taken at least 250,000 pictures of him at work, with his associates, with his family and grandchildren, for the mammoth personal record to be preserved at the Johnson Library in Texas. Mr. Nixon's staff photographer ("Ollie" Atkins, late of the late *Saturday Evening Post*) is under orders to snap him only on formal occasions, for a public rather than a personal record.

It was for small signs of change, rather than for the staged events and the big announcements, that the week would be remembered. One of the changes was in the Nixon smile. The appalling, on-order smile that had been seen so often during the campaign, the upward twitch followed on the instant by a return to the usual sullen set of the mouth, had been replaced, at least for the week of accession, by a slower and steadier smile. It was a believable smile, one that Mr. Nixon could hold for seconds, and it was a great improvement.

Another small and extraordinary event occurred at a reception, also on the first working Tuesday, for some 1,300 campaign workers in the East Room. President Nixon invited Mrs. Nixon to speak in his presence on a public occasion. Usually, when Patricia Nixon is with her husband in public, she appears to have withdrawn into some remote and silent world of her own – with eyes closed or, if they are open, staring out from her gaunt face at what only she may see. Painfully often during the election campaign, and at one at least of the six Inaugural balls, Mr. Nixon failed to introduce his wife. Now, at the White House reception, he did with "Here is Pat," and she uttered 53 words. Some of them were that "instead of having the 'big-shots,' so-called, we are going to have all our friends on a rotation basis. We hope to see you here again soon." Mr. Nixon, ever the vigilant guardian of himself, said as his wife turned away, "Just to keep the record clear, all of our friends are 'big shots.'" Her press secretary and Mr. Nixon's press secretary frequently told reporters during the remainder of the week that the Nixons dined together on five straight nights and on one night at midweek toured the White House together. On this tour, a spokesman acknowledged, Mrs. Nixon got her first look at Mr. Nixon's office in the Oval Room, which is perhaps a minute's walk from the adjoining Mansion.

At his first meeting with the press in the Oval Room, Mr. Nixon casually remarked that he was going to set a precedent by using a second office in the old and capacious Executive Office Building, across West Executive Avenue from the White House proper and its West Wing. "I like to work in a relatively small room with my papers all around," Mr. Nixon explained. "When I have to do brain work, I'll go over there." Also, he said, he would be closer there to his speech writers and to most of the National Security Council staff. The only offices in the old-fashioned EOB that the President would conceivably use are bigger than his Oval Room office, the one tentatively picked for him is much bigger, and he would actually be farther from rather than nearer his key NSC people. A Presidential office in the EOB would, however, have one effect and possibly another that Mr. Nixon did not mention. It would diminish the burning yen of every Presidential staffer to be quartered near him in the West Wing, where there is space only for the favored few and less space than ever for them now that Vice President Spiro T. Agnew is, by Mr. Nixon's order, also ensconced there. And a Nixon office across the way might in time reconcile the White House reporters and cameramen to being accommodated over there, too, thus freeing the West Wing and the President of their demanding and obtrusive presence. Mr. Nixon and some of his advisers had considered forcing

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the move upon the press and had been dissuaded from it with considerable difficulty by Herbert Klein, the President's long-time spokesman and his new Director of Communications for the entire Executive Branch. A suspicion that the journalists accredited to the White House may yet be expelled from their cherished haven near the President was the only curdling element in Mr. Nixon's otherwise cozy relationship with the press during this first week. A related suspicion that the President, working through the quiet and clever Mr. Klein, intends to do what he can to control and "coordinate" the flow of news about his Administration, for its advantage, would not quite down, either, despite the earnest efforts of Messrs. Klein and Ronald Ziegler, the former adman who is Mr. Nixon's press secretary, to convince the skeptics that nothing is more distant from the Nixon mind. Mr. Nixon's and their aim, they said again and again, is "a fully open Administration." In the past, he has been anything but an "open" man. Now the word at the Nixon White House is that his past is done with, that it should not be read as prologue to the Nixon Presidency.

Sort of a Free World

by Colman McCarthy

What, Senator Fulbright wondered, did the man named by Nixon to head the US Information Agency mean when he said we have "special and immense responsibilities"? Then followed this interchange between the two at last week's confirmation hearings:
Frank Shakespeare, Jr.: Take the United States. It is the central economic force in the free world. It puts us in the position of central leadership of the Western World, whether we choose it or not. I think that the world is in a struggle between conflicting ideologies and we are the leader of one of those camps.
Fulbright: The elected leader?
Shakespeare: No, sir.
Fulbright: Why are we the leader?
Shakespeare: Because we happen to have most of the power and without us the camp would not survive, the Western camp. If America did not exist today I think that the free world would probably not exist.

In the long list of political euphemisms that come and go, few have hung on as long as *the free world*. Used occasionally by Harry Truman, the term caught on with Dwight Eisenhower. "We know," said Ike in his 1956 State of the Union message, that "the Communist leaders have often practiced the tactics of retreat and zigzag. [But] we know that Soviet and Chinese Communism still poses a threat to the free world." In the same speech, Ike used the phrase four more times. In his 1955 State of the Union, he used it 10 times. John Kennedy also liked to talk about the free world, though his writers got up better-sounding synonyms: "the free peoples of the world," "the free states of this hemisphere," "the world of free choice." Kennedy even topped Ike's 1955 record by using the term 12 times in his State message of 1963. Lyndon Johnson, no needle changer, also referred regularly to the free world, ending with his 1969 State of the Union allusion to "the free nations of Asia."

However and by whomever used, the term *free world* turns out, on examination, to be a little too free – with the facts – for comfort.

The comfort in question is that which is being denied thousands of citizens of many "free nations" imprisoned for their political or religious beliefs. These nations include: Rhodesia, Nigeria, Iran, Pakistan, Greece, Kenya, Portugal, Malawi, Angola, Mexico, Argentina, Burma, Algeria, South Africa, Tanzania, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Zambia, Upper Volta, Turkey, Egypt, Taiwan, Ethiopia, Thailand, India, Gabon, Haiti, South Korea, Tunisia, Paraguay, South Vietnam, Bolivia, Uganda, Malaysia, Indonesia, Syria, Panama, Brazil, Spain and the United States. In no instances are the prisoners held because they have been violent, or advocated violence. Their imprisonment is traceable solely to political or religious beliefs unacceptable to the government, such as:

- practicing a minority religion, either through public meetings for worship or distribution of religious literature.
- advocating cultural or national autonomy.
- attempting to organize a political party in oppo-

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sition to the one in power.

► performing actions that the government or armed forces considers insulting.

► organizing independent unions for the purpose of bargaining or striking.

► refusing military service for reasons of conscience.

► organizing peaceful and public actions directed at changing governmental policy.

The most publicized case in recent months is that of Truong Dinh Dzu, the Saigon lawyer who ran as a peace candidate in the South Vietnamese elections of September 1967, finishing second – out of 11 candidates – with 17 percent of the vote. The winner, President Thieu, drew only 35 percent. After the election, Dzu was jailed for passing a "bad check" in 1962 and "to protect him from the Vietcong." Following statements he later made, Dzu was sentenced to five years. Dzu's statement that brought on the wrath of President Thieu – that South Vietnam should begin negotiations with Hanoi, with the US taking an advisory position – was subsequently adopted by Thieu himself. The more obvious irony appears in the question asked by Dzu's daughter Monique, who lives in the United States: "If we are not fighting for just a little freedom of speech in Vietnam, what is all the dying and destruction for?"

Another political prisoner whose confinement made news is Wole Soyinka, 33, a Nigerian playwright generally regarded as Africa's finest. Soyinka, whose plays *The Trials of Brother Jero* and *The Strong Breed* were well-received off-Broadway last fall, published an article in August of 1967 urging a quick end to the civil war between Nigeria and Biafra through negotiation. For that kind of talk, Soyinka was quickly slapped into jail by the Nigerian government. He's still there.

The steadiest flow of prisoner of conscience news comes from Greece. Although diminishing somewhat, news dispatches and private reports tell of the jailing, brutalities and atrocities dished out to thousands of political prisoners since the military coup of April 1967. The Onassis-Kennedy wedding of last fall – creating an image of Skorpios as just one of many gay and green islands in a heaven-watched and happily-run country where the wine and music flow on and on – may have lessened world outrage and concern for the prisoners, but most of them still rot in jail.

In the Washington offices of Amnesty International of the USA, the American affiliate of Amnesty International, the organization devoted to freeing prisoners of conscience anywhere in the world, a file cabinet weighing nearly 300 pounds contains the folders of over 6,000 cases. Running through them at random, one finds such reports as:

► Essone Ndong, Gabon, former secretary of the Gabonese Trade Union Federation and substitute executive board member of the International Congress of Free Trade Unions. Arrested with several other Gabonese trade union leaders in 1967. Held without charges or trial. Detention appears to be part of an effort to keep trade unions in line with the purposes of the one-party state. Sentenced to four years in late 1968.

► Bonfitto Daniele, 22, Italy, a Jehovah's Witness, arrested as a conscientious objector, tried in mid-1968 at a military court in Turin, sentenced to nine months in prison. Had already served two sentences on same charge. Can be expected to be jailed again and again.

► Abbe Gobenga, Ethiopia, "George Bernard Shaw" of Ethiopian letters, imprisoned because of satirical writings on Emperor Haile Selassie. In jail over a year.

► Lillian Ngoyi, 50, South Africa, widow, two children, low-income dressmaker, "banned" since November 1962. Ordered by South African Minister of Justice to one mile radius of Johannesburg home. No public speaking or writing. Banned without charges or trial. Assumed crime: speaking out against racism and apartheid.

► Isabel Luisa Alvarez de Toledo y Maura, Duchess of Medina-Sidonia, 32, Spanish nobility. Sentenced by public-order court to one year in prison. Led an "illegal" demonstration of peasants to demand more US payment for radiation damage done to peasants' property when U.S. Air Force B-52 crashed in Palomares in January 1966. US paid $660,000 on claims, but Duchess said it wasn't enough.

► Aramesh (first name not disclosed), Iran, former Minister of State and head of Planning Organization. Disappeared from home soon after announcing formation of committee for establishment of republican form of government in Iran in March 1965. Proclamation stated: ". . . at present, the nation, the court, the press, the church, the parliament and the law are all centered in the person of the Shah. There is no trace left of democracy, justice, freedom, individual and human rights. These words cannot even be mentioned. What the executioners of the present inhuman regime will do to my body and soul after this proclamation is made public is the best testimony of the existence of such a situation." Immediately arrested, secretly tried, sentenced to 10 years.

Next to a few friends and relatives, the only thing most of these prisoners have going for them is Amnesty International. From the view of many governments that lock up people for what they say or think, Amnesty's methods often seem bush: polite letters to authorities, picketing embassies, letters-to-the-editor, informal visits of inquiry or persuasion by on-call lawyers, publicity and news stories. Yet, Amnesty's philosophy of picklocking is like the dog biting at the postman's ankle: sink deep and don't let go.

The case of recently released B. P. Koirala and Ganeshmen Singh of Nepal is illustrative. Koirala was the country's prime minister – the only democratically elected head of the only democratic government in the

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history of Nepal – and Singh his minister of transportation. In 1960, King Mahendra overthrew the government and established the *Panchayat* structure, a system of indirect representation in which the king is neither elected by, nor responsible to, the people. Koirala, Singh and other ex-government officials were jailed. They stayed there until October 1968, their release occurring as the apparent result of two separate actions. First, in late 1967, King Mahendra visited Washington, on the perennial goodwill mission, but hoping also to beef up US aid beyond the $115 million received in the past 15 years. Riding in the parade along Pennsylvania Avenue, the King could hardly fail to notice a seven-foot Amnesty banner calling for the release of Koirala. The King also could not fail to see, or have called to his attention, a news story in *The Washington Post* on the ex-government prisoners, plus a letter to the *Post* from Amnesty USA's director, Paul J. Lyons, saying: "He [Koirala] remains in prison with throat cancer, his health failing. Will King Mahendra leave him there to die, away from his loved ones?"

Eight months later, the pressure was still on. Congressman Leonard Farbstein, a New York Democrat and chairman of the House subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy, received hundreds of postcards urging him to act on behalf of the prisoners. Farbstein asked the State Department to get on the case. He soon received a fuzz-ball letter from State's Congressional Relations office, urging patience: ". . . Nepal's contact with the modern world was extremely limited prior to 1951. The country's experiment with Western parliamentary institutions [has] led to problems of instability." Despite this put-off, Amnesty officials believe that the State Department acted firmly and quickly, and told the Nepalese government that public concern in America was high over the prisoners of conscience. The following month Koirala and Singh were released.

More secure in the role of world policeman than world ombudsman, the men who staff the State Department's 173 country desks prefer to keep their eye on potential revolutions than on actual suppressions. The astute State Department fuzz-baller, when looking at a given country, may factually know that hundreds of political prisoners are being held and many being tortured; but he also knows the country is a military ally in our troubles with Communism, is an investment market for merchants and a foreign base for US industry, and is even a great place to use up his annual leave next vacation time. Under the weight of such considerations, plus a general dulling of the soul that can happen after years in diplomacy, the wait-and-see policy wins out more often than not. Perhaps in a few years, these "free nations" will wake by themselves to democracy. To kick them in the ribs now over a few prisoners might only provoke "an international incident."

Occasionally, the right combination of Congressional interest, public concern and US diplomatic goals will spring the lock on a foreign jail, with no damage to either the US or the target government. But for Amnesty, this combination is too rare. It has learned instead, that a foreign government is often more responsive to economic threats than diplomatic representations: a visit, say, by a group of Amnesty pickets in front of the country's tourist office in New York City will often have more impact than a visit to the country's foreign minister by a State Department flunky. Ironically, many of the countries making little progress democratically are achieving great progress economically. Taiwan, with hundreds in its jails guilty only of independent thinking, has a GNP annually increasing by nine percent. American companies like General Instruments, Pfizer, American Cyanamid, Eli Lilly are part of a flourishing foreign investment in Taiwan that reached $100 million in 1968. Despite this dollar-boom, the country of Chiang K'ai-shek and son Chiang Ching-kuo is run under martial law. Obsessed with what Chiang K'ai-shek calls "our national task of mainland recovery" the Kuomingtang party openly purges many Taiwanese liberals. One of these – currently being championed by Amnesty – is Chen Yu Hsi. A 29-year-old former student at the University of Hawaii, Chen was last seen as a free man on February 8, 1968, when he walked into the Immigration Service office in Tokyo. He is reported to have been forcibly deported to Taiwan the next day for failing to produce a proper visa. Months later, in isolation from family and friends, he was sentenced to seven years. Amnesty believes Chen's crime was advocacy of Taiwan independence.

Amnesty sees the US as no more of a free nation than Taiwan, Greece or the others. More and more American jails are being filled with political and religious prisoners, usually men who refuse for reasons of conscience to take up arms in the Vietnam war. Work on their behalf is generally done by Amnesty branches outside the United States; prisoners of conscience must be adopted by Amnesty affiliates not of the same nationality. The policy has two purposes: to stress the idea that the violation of human rights is a violation of a universal, and not merely a national, right; and to improve the likelihood that the case will be objectively judged one of conscience.

As one combs through the Amnesty files in its tuck-away Washington office, a pattern emerges: nearly all the countries that lock up people for unorthodox thinking are run on a military motor. Miguel de Unamuno, the Spanish philosopher and one of Franco's earliest prisoners of conscience, wrote shortly before his death in 1936: "There is no culture that can come to life and flourish under a military regime. . . . It's impossible, impossible! Under militarism nothing can prosper; they're just blustering fools."

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Howard Kaye: Delight and Instruction

Bruno's Dream by Iris Murdoch

(Viking; $5.75)

Iris Murdoch has written 12 novels in the last 15 years, and has acquired a considerable reputation, sometimes as a serious literary figure and sometimes as a writer of superior entertainments. Her work seems to straddle both categories, to move with the fast-paced insouciant wit of a certain kind of particularly British popular novel, and at the same time to deal with serious philosophical ideas. It seems to me that Miss Murdoch, refusing to commit herself to either the popular or the philosophic mode, fails in both of them; her books usually strike me as annoyingly pretentious. *Bruno's Dream*, though quite readable, does not entirely escape this difficulty.

Bruno is a dying old man interested in spiders and his stamp collection. He lives with his widowed son-in-law, a shallow, easygoing man named Danby. Danby is sleeping with Adelaide the maid, who is at the same time loved by her childhood sweetheart, Will. Will's brother Nigel, a mystical peeping Tom, is Bruno's male nurse. Bruno's son Miles, an aging would-be-poet who refuses to see his father, is ensconced in an orderly and ceremonious second marriage to Diana, a woman devoted to his querulous comfort. With them lives Diana's sister Lisa, a social worker and former nun, whom Miles and Diana imagine as a bird with a broken wing.

All these lives and relationships are founded on concealment and hypocrisy. Everyone is a failure. In the course of the novel all their superficial accommodations are overturned as an epidemic of love breaks out. Bruno calls his son Miles to his bedside to ask for forgiveness and compassion, a demand which sends self-absorbed Miles rushing out in horrified disgust. Danby begins to seduce Miles's wife Diana, but then falls violently in love with her sister Lisa. Miles also discovers he loves Lisa, and cannot give up either woman, nor keep them both Will discovers Danby is sleeping with Adelaide and challenges him to a duel. Lisa announces she is leaving for India. Various plot lines having approached a climax, there is a *Mill-on-the-Floss* sort of flood, which looks like it is going to settle things by killing off the characters. But the book goes on for 50 pages more, in which the characters settle into a new alignment of relationships.

Such a summary, involved as it may sound, telescopes most of the complicated choreography of Miss Murdoch's plot. The novel characteristically shuffles a number of people through interwoven and shifting alliances, rather like a square dance. It is not so extreme in this regard as *A Severed Head*, in which, as Rubin Rabinowitz remarks, of the nine heterosexual relationships mathematically possible among the three men and three women in the novel, eight occur. Such plots leave an unmistakable authorial spoor. Characters fall in and out of love, or make crucial discoveries, not through any intrinsic psychological or dramatic necessity, but gratuitously, in the interests of the abstract permutations of the plot. The author sets herself, and her reader, an intellectual puzzle: if I have so many characters, each representing some not - quite - determinate quality, and I make them love each other in the following combinations, what will it all prove?

Well, in the course of these permutations, the characters do learn something. Danby, for example, who has always taken things as they come, reflects in regard to Adelaide after being spurned by Lisa: "Perhaps the crime was that of letting himself be loved so much more than he loved. Perhaps it was that of allowing someone to be utterly bound, for the sake of a second-rate kind of loving." His judgment here seems finally to have approached the author's.

Miss Murdoch, influenced by Simone Weil, rejects the existential view of life which, she has written, promotes narcissistic self-absorption. Love requires concentration on others. Most of the relationships in *Bruno's Dream* represent imperfect, selfish kinds of love. Miss Murdoch's mouthpieces are Lisa, the realist, and Nigel, an elfin creature who flits through the novel, half potty, half prescient, and half pansy. Nigel tells Diana:

> "A human being hardly ever thinks about other people. He contemplates fantasms which resemble them and which he has decked out for his own purposes. Miles's thoughts cannot touch you. His thoughts are about Miles. This too you must see and forgive. He will be pleased with himself and you will see him smiling."
>
> "But what about me?"
>
> "That is what they all cry. Relax. Let them walk on you. Send anger and hate away. Love them and let them walk on you. Love Miles, love Danby, love Lisa, love Bruno, love Nigel."

Discounting to some degree Nigel's masochism, this advice could be taken as the novel's ethical touchstone. All the relationships could be ranked in terms of their adherence to this ideal of non-subjectivity, unselfishness. But such a mechanical schematizing would leave us with very little, for any philosophy abstracted from the novel would be either painfully obvious or perversely finical, depending on one's point of view and the ingenuity with which one elaborated the abstracted philosophy. From such a perspective, the novel would be a bore. Yet the reader is forced to recognize that some external system of ideas is responsible for moving the characters around like puppets. Their behavior is so obvious-

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ly manipulated from outside that the novel cannot be read in terms of psychological realism. It's action does not stand on its own; it appears capricious and unmotivated, as if some key to understanding were missing, as if the author were playing games with the reader. The novel won't work with or without the philosophical ideas.

Miss Murdoch is up to her usual tricks with vestigial symbols and dead-end illuminations. The following rumination by Bruno, in light of the book's title, has an air of vast significance: "It's all a dream, he thought, one goes through life in a dream, it's all too *hard*. Death refutes induction. There is no 'it' for it to be all about. There is just the dream, its texture, its essence, and in our last things we subsist only in the dream of another." Yet the novel offers no justification for viewing all the action as Bruno's dream, and the passage, as far as I can see, has no connection with anything. It exists to create a bogus intimation of meaning. The same is true of the passages in which Nigel is associated with God: "Kneeling so close to him unseen Nigel smiles too, the tender forgiving infinitely sad smile of almighty God." Nigel calls himself God. But Nigel, though a voyeur and a busybody, is not God, and an attempt to read the novel as if he were leads to confusion. The reader is supposed, I guess, to enjoy the feeling of macrocosmic correspondences without inquiring too precisely into them.

If you can read *Bruno's Dream* that way, it is enjoyable. The dialogue is crisp and sometimes amusing, the characterizations are deft and interesting, and the action moves swiftly. It is good train or beach reading, and in addition many readers, especially academic ones, will derive from it the virtuous feeling they habitually get from "serious" literature, with none of the usual work.

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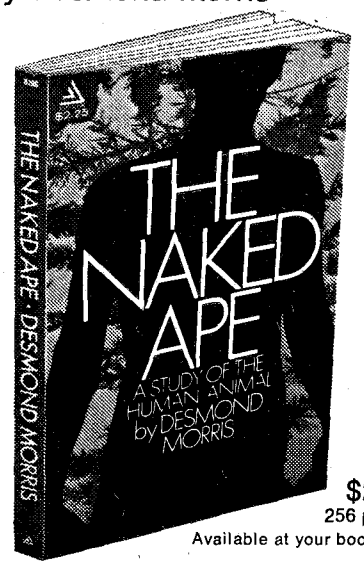

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Richard J. Barnet: The Pentagon Product

Pentagonism: A Substitute for Imperialism by Juan Bosch

(Grove Press; $5.00)

"The Dominican people have a saying that 'when the dog barks the master is punished.' " In these words Juan Bosch explains why he has not yet published an adequate answer to US Ambassador John Bartlow Martin's 600-page put-down of Bosch's brief presidency of the Dominican Republic. The real explanation for what happened to his country, he suggests, is to be found not by recounting the role of the American proconsul in Dominican politics but by analyzing the sources within American society of American interventionism. In *Pentagonism: A Substitute for Imperialism* Juan Bosch is punishing the master. The book is an honest and instructive attempt by a reflective man to think through what happened to him and to others.

Bosch's thesis is that the counter-revolutionary thrust of US foreign policy is a product of "pentagonism," a term he uses to describe a system of "military terrorism" with which the US government seeks to advance its interests. "Pentagonism" constitutes a separate government in the United States, made up of ever-expanding military bureaucracies, which for almost twenty years have had between 50 and 80 cents of each tax dollar to spend. The term is shorthand for a militarized society that devotes its principal energies to building an arsenal and shapes its political goals according to its weapons stockpile.

As Bosch sees it, imperialism in the Leninist sense, i.e. the conquest of colonies to provide markets, raw material sources, and outlets for surplus capital, "no longer exists." An overdeveloped capitalist nation such as the US does not need imperialism, for it can produce its own synthetic raw materials and can invest its surplus capital at will in its own war economy. Colonies are unnecessary, he argues, for "pentagonism colonizes the mother country." The "pentagonists" seek profits "where arms are manufactured, not where they are employed. . . ." The arms race is the engine of the US economy, and the military operations in which the US is involved around the world provide the rationale for keeping the engine running smoothly.

Bosch recounts how a military economy and military bureaucracy were suddenly created in the Second World War within a society that had neither the historical tradition nor the countervailing institutions to contain them:

> "Like all power which is the result of unplanned circumstances, pentagonism began its life as a child, with unconscious appetites and movements. It kept adjusting itself to the situations created each day by a world of dizzying changes, but

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it adjusted itself in a mechanical manner, aiming merely at survival and an increase in strength, not at serving definite purposes. Moreover, the leaders of pentagonism in its first stages believed that its function was to save the United States, only they did not know what it was saving the United States *for*, not having decided whether it was to be useful to humanity or to accumulative profits for a minority of Americans."

His discussion of the bureaucratization of foreign policy contains his most useful insights. Not only is the government of foreign affairs separate from the rest of the government and remarkably invulnerable to Congress, much less to the electorate, but it is made up of "functionaries not politicians." Bosch asserts that there are no "permanent political figures" as in Europe, men who retain their influence even while out of office. In the United States most men come to office in the national security bureaucracy with no strong principles or policies other than a vague commitment to the status quo. They are conservators of a system of power that flourishes by expanding. They derive their power not from being popular leaders or from mastering a political ideology but by rooting themselves firmly in the system as it is. They are resourceful in acquiring political power but unimaginative in using it. Once in office they quickly come to believe that the conservator's task entrusted to them requires them to deal with traditional problems in familiar ways. Thus in the tradition of bureaucrats who run big countries (and some small ones) their impulse is to reach for the gun to solve difficult problems of statecraft.

While postwar America exhibits many of the characteristics of traditional imperialism, Bosch says, portraying the spread of American power throughout the world as a Disraeli revival in modern dress misses the point. It is true that some postwar American statesmen rather thought of themselves as Disraelis picking up some of the "responsibilities" that impoverished England and France could no longer meet. But the dynamics of contemporary expansionism are different from prewar imperialism. Not quite so different, I think, as Bosch suggests, for he underplays the economic stake of the United States in the Third World. The almost total lack of interest in raw materials that the author suggests is at odds

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with official statements to the contrary, and does not take into account the degree of actual dependence of the United States economy on strategic materials from abroad. Bosch's own anecdote about Adolph Berle's enterprise in cabling him at the President's palace, suggesting he sell sugar to the company of which the architect of the Alliance for Progress happened to be the board chairman, suggests that profits are not totally irrelevant in the calculations of American policymakers.

Nevertheless, the former President is right, it seems to me, in rejecting simplistic theories of "neo-imperialism," which paint the military as debt collectors and Pinkerton men for the corporations. While the US uses its power in many ways to protect American corporations abroad (such as the granting and withholding of aid), it has used its military power in the postwar period not to rescue particular investors but to create a favorable political climate for American interests, public as well as private. Reversing the nineteenth-century pattern, the corporation typically follows the army into "new areas of opportunity" in the underdeveloped world. The military bureaucracies which now control so much of the national resources clearly constitute an independent source of political and economic power in the country. Progress, i.e. its own expansion, is "pentagonism's" most important product.

Still, it must be said that despite many acute observations, Bosch does not offer a coherent theory of what "pentagonism" really is or how it works. He is describing a pathological condition of American life, but neither the slogan nor the theory of "pentagomism" explains the course of the disease. He asks us to believe that "a little group of bankers, industrialists, businessmen, generals and politicians is making war to obtain rapid and generous profits" in the arms race, but his own often brilliant insights into the institutional sources of "pentagonism" suggest that conspiracy is not the explanation.

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Leo Bersani: Blue Blood and His Women

The Girls
by Henry de Montherlant

Translated by Terence Kilmartin, with an introduction by Peter Quennell
(Harper and Row; $8.95)

The self-exaltations of the aristocratic pose are inseparable from certain self-deprecations. What, for example, could be more limiting to the aristocrat's freedom than his own psychological depths? It's natural that he should delight in his superficiality: he willingly sacrifices the dubious advantage of having an interesting and complex personality for the more exhilarating flatness of a life whose surfaces are – ideally – never complicated by motive. Psychological motive enriches our behavior but it also constrains it; it gives to our acts that which the aristocrat abhors above all other things: an air of necessity.

In thus proclaiming that he has nothing to hide (nothing by which he could be either accused or justified), the spiritual aristocrat I'm imagining commits himself to total exposure. He chooses to be continuously vulnerable in the proud faith that he can *make* something self-exalting from the most unpromising and even painful experience. The successful aristocrat can never be tragic (he has no internal or external [illegible] that inferior mode of being that is tragedy, an aristocrat may, with the best logic, welcome what is humiliating and destructive in life as an occasion for performing the role of a lucidly ludicrous clown.

Henry de Montherlant, that haughty aristocrat of French letters whom Bernanos once referred to as "perhaps the greatest of our living writers," is at his best when he diverts psychological tension into a rather grand, sporty, occasionally risky farce. The hero of *The Girls* scores a point against the book's major villain (the villain is the institution of marriage) by making himself even more of a fool than he is. "The shame Costals felt at the thought of being a son-in-law, or on the way to becoming one, he tried to get rid of by exaggerating the farcical side of the situation, in such a way as to be able to go on turning life into art." And so, after a particularly ridiculous session of evasiveness and weakness with the woman who may become his mother - in - law, Costals temporarily "saves" himself from "the nuptial

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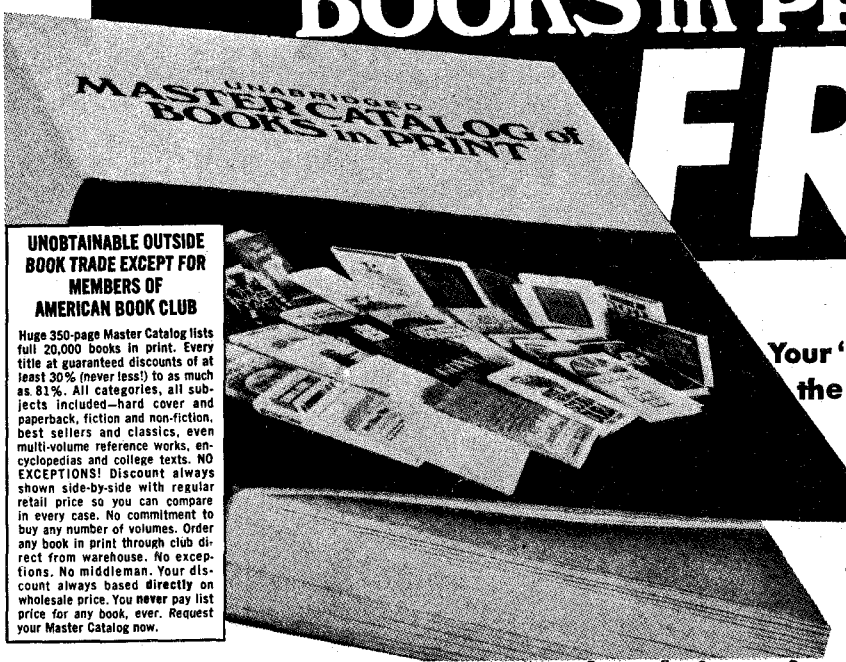

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Two Fishermen

In late September on a school day
I take my father, failing, now past seventy
to the row boat on the reservoir, the waters
since July have gone down two hundred yards
below the shoreline.
The lake stretches before us – a secret,
we do not disturb a drifting branch, a single hawk.
For a moment nothing says, "Thou shalt not."
If I could say anything to the sky and trees
I'd say things are best as they are.

It is more difficult for me to think
of my father's death than my own.
He casts half the distance he used to.
I am trying to give him something,
to stuff a hill between his lips. I try
to spoon feed him nature, but an hour
in the evening on the lake does not nourish him,
the walk in the woods that comforts me
as it used to comfort him, makes him shiver.
I pretend to be cold.

We walk along the old lake bottom,
our shoes sink into the cold mud,
where last spring there was ten foot of water –
where last summer I saw golden carp
coupling on the surface. It's after dark,
although I can barely see
I think I know where the fence is.
My father's hands tremble like the tail of a fish
resting in one place. As for me?
I have already become his ghost.

Stanley Moss

Barometer

Over the wreck of winter another season
crashes on this unprotected coast, cryptic
with April flotsam and the dried lavender tears
of wisteria. All through a cold spring
it has been snowing somewhere at the back
of my mind. Sleet covers a hulk dredged
from weeds to bleach on salt islands. Ashore,
ivy quickens on brick faces; over
the seawall forsythia in sunlight
flares, and cherry in white mounds chastens
the drowning eye.

Hollow with the tug and slap
of far tides in a strict cove, I swallow
the whole ocean at one look
and in the shadow of a rock, breathe in
the drift of the sand.

Madeline De Frees

all defeated clowns: "With his feet turned out a little, in imitation of Charlie [Chaplin], he strolled down the avenue, appalled and delighted." A grotesque exaggeration of defeat helps him to transcend its literal fact.

A similar mechanism operates in sex. To make love is not *exactly* to be defeated, but, in the usual circumstances of sex, someone else has what might be felt as the disconcerting power of making us lose our self-control. The niggardly solutions to such indignities are either chastity or masturbation Costals finds an undeniably more interesting way of asserting his self-sufficiency. In what seems to be his best time in bed with his near-fiancée Solange, he lets himself be carried away by his sensations almost to the point of insane frenzy. But he has managed partially to dismiss Solange by placing a plush rabbit on the pillow next to her head:

> "So violently did he involve the rabbit in their love-games that there came a moment when it completely took possession of his imagination to the exclusion of Solange. Then his sensuality took on a quasi-religious character; but soon, no longer in control of the myth he had unleashed, and in the grip of all that was most unbridled in his nature, he was overcome with a kind of terror, and, his eyes dilating, he took the rabbit and placed it on a chair, hiding it under his pajamas. Whereupon he was restored to reason."

This is the most striking – and appealing – example of Costals' technique of domination. Appealing because he does, after all, let himself go: he risks losing his mind as well as the control of his muscles. But while Costals allows Solange to be the "scene" of his sexual vulnerability (as her mother was an occasion for humiliation), he triumphs over her by reinventing the scene so that he can attribute only to himself the defeat and "glory" of his temporary madness (as the Chaplinesque way of walking mocks the person who – superficially – has humiliated him). "Leaping beyond the narrow limits of their sex," Costals, we are told, would often "make his women wear carnival masks representing animal heads during their love-making." In a frenzy of excessive responsiveness, Costals thus loses and exalts himself simultaneously. Somewhat comical, he performs his

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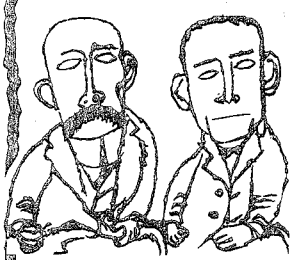
gard for the grotesqueness of the performance. And in sex he implicitly proposes the orgy – with the extra partner (or partners) either animate or inanimate – as the most aristocratic form of love-making.

There are many funny scenes in Montherlant's novel; I recommend it for its comedy. Unfortunately, *The Girls* (first published from 1936 to 1939 and now available in an impressively smooth translation by Terence Kilmartin) has a rather more banal thesis to push. Montherlant is – tirelessly, interminably – out to attack the myth of "the eternal feminine," the idealization of women and marriage, the "love-court" notion of relations between the sexes. The misogynous argument goes something like this. At best, what a man may *naturally* feel for a woman is a mixture of desire, tenderness, and esteem. But this is not enough for women. Physiologically, intellectually, and morally defective, and completely devoid of mystery, they have, in Western civilization, tried to compensate for their inferiority by imposing on men the monstrous, antinatural cult of "pure Love." This sick sublimation, which Montherlant's writer-hero Costals calls "Lurve," is largely responsible for the "five sores of the body social," all "essentially feminine": unrealism ("Women are too infirm to bear reality . . ."), dolorism ("The story of humanity, ever since Eve, is the story of the efforts made by woman to diminish man and make him suffer, so that he may become her equal"), the desire to please, gregariousness, and sentimentalism.

Man's mistake is to pity women – an understandable, magnanimous mistake, since they need us to be happy and we need them only to satisfy a physical need. But enough pity! *The Girls* "documents" the havoc wrought by compassion and by the idiotic obstinacy with which women try to drown men in their own mediocrity, through Costals' affair with the colorless, frigid, and mindless Solange Dandillot, and through his correspondence with the ruthlessly loving provincial bluestocking Andrée Hacquebaut, one of the most repulsively pathetic figures in literature (she's the best "thing" in the book). The lesson should be clear. Man's duty is to oppose a "*systematic frivolity*" to women's "unhealthy complications and sublimations." Only by fighting the demons of Lurve and of his own charity with coarseness and cruelty can man hope to reach the magnificent sanity of the East, where woman is kept "in her proper place" as the weak, pathetic, easily dismissed servant of male pleasures.

As an indictment of an unhealthy social and sexual myth, certain aspects of *The Girls* are, theoretically, defensible. Of course, the ills deriving from our special treatment of women and from our fascination with romantic passion are not exactly news. And the most obvious – and most important – point about any idealization of woman seems, astonishingly, to have escaped Montherlant: to place human beings on a spiritual pedestal is a strategy for giving a respectable disguise to the impulses which would trample them underfoot. The home-as-temple piety, for example, sanctifies an economic arrangement rather like that of the whorehouse; as I think Sartre has remarked, the official version of marriage in bourgeois society amounts to institutionalizing the kept woman as a housewife. Since the idolatry of women is essentially an insult to them, women have understandably been the most violent attackers of their own deceptively privileged status. As far as lucid and moving analyses of "the situation of women" in Western society go, *The Girls* is leagues behind Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* and Doris Lessing's *The Golden Notebook*. The most glaring contradiction in Montherlant's position is that his view of women is *part of* the myths he is attacking. The special treatment of women probably expresses little more than the guilty conscience of an im-



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pulse to debase; they are the two sides of a single psychological and cultural coin. Montherlant claimed in an interview in 1952 that he addressed women as "equals" in *The Girls*. This is the most flagrant bad faith: the novel argues for precisely that view of women that the myths it debunks sublimate and therefore "legitimize." The smutty joke, the misogynous *fabliau* are – how can Montherlant be unaware of this? – the solid psychic foundations on which the noble castles of courtly love are built.

Fundamentally, Montherlant and his hero are uninterested in examining relations between the sexes. This is what I find offensive about *The Girls* and not, as has frequently been said, its "honesty" about those relations. No one sublimates, in the most outrageous way, more than Costals, and certain assumptions and generalizations about men and women are merely the superstructure which obscures a boundless but extremely insecure vanity. The aristocratic pose is defeated by a *motivated* psychology which Costals can't invent himself out of. Montherlant's hero takes a curiously long time to get rid of his female parasites. Why does he bother with Andrée, who doesn't even interest him sexually? Why does he take so long to break off with Solange? The answer – given with no irony at all – is that he is victimized by his own goodness or charity. The French title of the third volume is *Le Démon du bien*, and the novel is full of diatribes against charity. But these diatribes are a waste of time, and the fact that Montherlant and Costals (the distinction between the two in the novel is negligible, Montherlant's disclaimers notwithstanding) take them seriously alerts us to the holes in the armor of that lucidity which they extol as the supreme, exclusively masculine virtue.

Costals *needs* Andrée and Solange, as he needs children and animals, in order to convince himself of his own strength. The most inventive pastime of this spiritual snob is to make the weak suffer, an activity which, he admits, gives him great pleasure. What exhilarates him most in a Paris crowd is its "baseness"; it awakens in him what he calls "the life force, the urge to take, to hurt, to corrupt, to deceive." That insolence might have a certain appeal if it took a few more risks; the openness I described at the beginning of this discussion is the exception in *The Girls*, and not once in over six hundred pages do we see Costals confronting someone who might threaten him in the slightest degree. This hero, as Simone de Beauvoir has shrewdly said, has chosen fear; he is superior to others merely by virtue of the wrong he does them. He insults Andrée; therefore he is a man. Costals is running scared.

The openness and vulnerability of Montherlant's hero are both a lie and a truth it would be too humiliating for him to see. *The Girls* is full of (unintentional) psychological hints: in remarks that seem to suggest that Costals would prefer young girls or boys to grown-ups in sex; in his view of sexual pleasure as the pleasure we watch someone else receiving from us (see how Malraux treats this with Ferral in *Man's Fate*); in his asking Andrée to let him make her suffer so that he can love himself in the harm he does her; and, finally, in the nightmare Costals has of being enveloped and crushed by a massive, viscous creature a few hours after thinking with disgust of the softness of women's bodies and longing for embraces "worthier of his mettle, heroic embraces, mighty minglings as of a pair of wrestlers on the mat." I suppose that Montherlant and his admirers would react with a scornful sneer about reductive psychologizing if one were to suggest that Costals' virility consists in taking nasty revenges on weaker images of himself for his own terrified temptation to be passive.

Indeed, there is nothing very enlivening about such reductiveness, but one of the admirable things about realistic fiction is that it has a low tolerance for blinding rhetorics of sublimation. One might almost wax Jamesian in praise of the novel as "the most independent, most elastic, most prodigious of literary forms" – since its "elasticity" allows for so much play, so much generous experimenting with the self and the world, and also so much rope with which a mean sensibility can hang itself. Montherlant is relatively safe in the neatly turned aphorisms of his Notebooks and the rigidly controlled language of a play like *The Master of Santiago*. And it is undoubtedly his talent for the uptight formula which explains why the French have been praising the perfection of his language for over 40 years. *The Girls*, happily and unhappily, does not sustain the aristocratic pretense of the stylistic gem. In the leisurely time and larger spaces of his fiction, the noble Montherlant invents rather shabby alibis for the unprepossessing stiffness of his hauteur.

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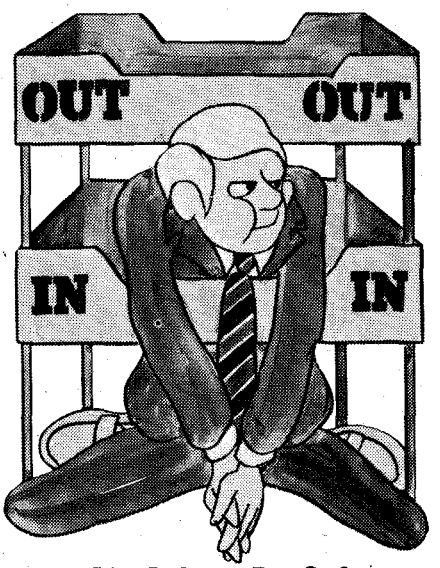

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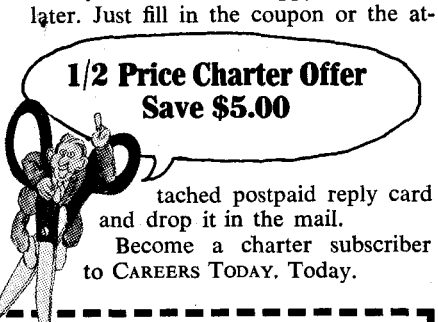

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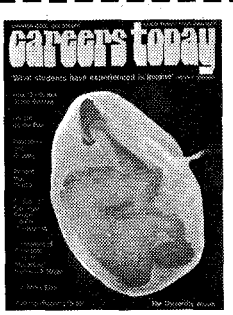

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Michael Harrington: What's in a Name?

The Origins of Socialism by George Lichtheim

(Frederick A. Praeger; $6.95)

Suddenly the air is filled with talk of socialism. But the discussion does not take place, according to the classic anticipation, among workers. It is a passionate matter of debate for collegiate activists who belong to that movement in search of a program, the New Left.

It is hardly a novelty that educated youth in a period of social crisis turn to radical ideology. Yet two elements in the present situation are unique. First, the numbers, and even more importantly the social and political weight of these students have increased in an unprecedented fashion. Thus *Fortune* recently discovered that two-fifths of those between 18 and 24 and in college "are defined . . . mainly *by their lack of concern about making money*," and by a consequent openness to draft resistance, civil disobedience – and a systematic critique of American society. That adds up to three million young people, and a most dynamic constituency.

Secondly, as interminable essays on the generation gap have chronicled, this radical generation is virgin-born and has no ideological parents. It therefore includes those who give letter-perfect imitations of ancient Leftist types and clichés without knowing it: Blanquists who have never heard of Blanqui, theorists of "social fascism" who do not remember the holocaust that devoured their German Communist precursors. And yet, for all the sense of *déja vu*, it would be wholly wrong to dismiss or patronize these youth. They are the vanguard of what McGeorge Bundy rightly termed the best generation this nation has produced, and their impulses are as excellent as their ideas are often vague. The fact that they have moved within a decade from concern with single issues, like HUAC and segregated lunch counters, to challenging the very premises of the society is one of the best things about them. Next, they have to find out who they really are.

In such a political setting, George Lichtheim's new study of *The Origins of Socialism* is particularly welcome. In previous studies, Lichtheim established himself as a brilliant, often witty scholar as well as a committed democratic socialist. He does not, therefore, approach his subject with the detachment of the archeologist but rather with the passion of a man who is seeking to define, as honestly and deeply as possible, a living, vital tradition. In his new book, he surveys and interprets the emergence of socialism in the period from Gracchus Babeuf to 1848. On the way, he covers much of the ground treated in recent works like G. D. H. Cole's *History of Socialist Thought*, Carl Landauer's *European Socialism* and Harry Laidler's 1968 revision of his *History of Socialism*. But where those books tend to be extensive and detailed, Lichtheim is as much interpreter as historian. Indeed, if there is any significant flaw in this book it is that he has compressed so much analysis into such a short space. But even so this is a major contribution to scholarship (the seventy pages of notes alone are worth the price of any academic's admission) and to the debate now taking place among young radicals.

In this brief notice, I propose to focus upon those elements in Lichtheim's complex argument which are particularly relevant today. The work of redefining socialism for the nineteen-seventies may well be facilitated by understanding how the original conceptions emerged out of a historical process in the first half of the eighteen-hundreds.

For Lichtheim, that period saw an unprecedented conjunction of "democratic upsurge and a technological gear-change that radically altered men's environment": in short the French and Industrial Revolutions. In this context Babeuf and the very first socialists of his Conspiracy of Equals took Jacobin logic to extreme conclusions and initiated a contradictory tradition. For the Babouvists were democratic in the sense that they concentrated upon the living needs of people rather than upon the orderly use of machines; but they were also elitist in that they believed that the popular upheaval would have to be led by a small, underground cadre. The Jacobin-democratic strand in the socialist impulse inspired Karl Marx in that he rejected the technocratic theories of a socialism of the engineers. And, by way of Blanqui and the Commune, the idea traveled to Petrograd in 1917-18, where Lenin used it in all of its democratic-elitist ambiguity and Stalin made it a straightforward excuse for totalitarian dictatorship.

But there were other French components in the early definitions (and posing the richness and complexity of the terms is one of the great values of Lichtheim's study). The Saint-Simonians responded more to the Industrial, rather than the French Revolution. The new technology, Constantin Recquer said, was "associative, socializing, agglomerative." And so the Saint-Simonians set out to discover an orderly, rational way to direct the new productive forces.

Yet even though the Saint-Simonians were modernizers and planners, they had a curious affinity with the conservatives of the time. Like Bonald, De Maistre and other Rightist critics of the French Revolution, they were hostile to liberal capitalism because it made an organic social order impossible. The conservatives wanted to go back to an imagined and integrated medieval utopia – and across the Channel, Disraeli, Carlyle and the Young England movement had something of the same idea – and the technocrats to go forward to an integrated, industrial utopia. Still another variant of this attack on the anti-communitarian consequences of bourgeois society was the emphasis on cooperation and mutualism in Fourier and Proudhon.

While the French were reacting politically to these upheavals, and the English by way of classic political economy, Owenite cooperation and the Chartist movement for working-class civil rights, the Germans were writing philosophy. What happened on earth in the advanced capitalist countries took place only in the heavens of German speculation, as Marx never tired of emphasizing. And yet, the German giants, like Kant and Hegel, were responding to historical events and their doctrines never denied reality, as some

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of the English idealist philosophers did, but rather assigned thought the decisive role in creating it.

In a famous essay by Lenin on the sources of Marxism, these different responses to the times are synthesized by the theory that Marx "combined" German philosophy, French politics and English economics. Lichtheim rightly objects that this is a mechanistic thesis. Rather, he says, Marx saw these three different trends as reactions to the same revolutionary transition to the bourgeois order: as aspects of a superstructure which reflected, in myriad ways, the new capitalist reality.

But in 1848, when this volume ends, Marx had not yet formulated his mature point of view. The *Communist Manifesto*, and even more pertinently some of the angry, disillusioned writings of 1850, still expressed a Jacobin perspective of armed insurrection. But, as Lichtheim argued brilliantly in his *Marxism*, Marx responded to the events of the fifties and sixties, abandoned the apocalyptic expectations and opted for a democratic socialism that was much more pragmatic and gradualist than the *Manifesto*.

The moral I would draw from the complicated history that Lichtheim sketches is Marxist. Socialism developed as an extremely varied, and intensely human, response to the process of capitalist industrialization. It produced, as Marx wrote in the *Manifesto*, reactionary, feudal, conservative and utopian "socialisms" (and in the twentieth century more than one despot has called his anti-socialism "socialist"). Although Marx had, to a remarkable degree, identified his basic themes by 1845-46, he was not an exception to the Marxist rule that men both create, and are created by, events. He changed.

Moreover, as Lichtheim shows, the notion that Marx simply worked out the economics of Hegel's philosophy (urged by Georg Lukacs on the Communist Left and by Robert Tucker on the academic Right) simply does not stand up. And yet, one idea that he did learn, and learn well, from Hegel, was that individuals cannot tell history how it "ought" to be. There must be trends in reality moving toward an ideal if that ideal is ever to be effectuated. And Marx, for all his errors in specific judgment and the unpredicted changes that require the revision of his expectations, did rightly discern a labor and socialist movement which, if

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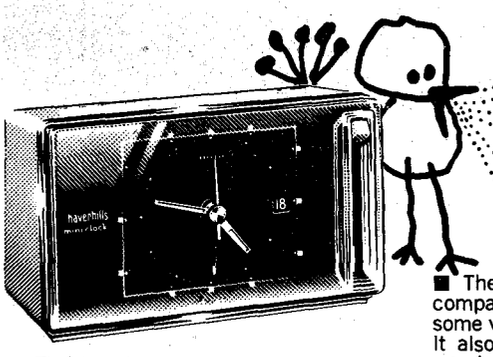

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it has not made the revolution, has profoundly modified Western civilization.

The relevant point today is that a definition of socialism cannot be derived out of the head, or emotions, of committed activists. It must be based on a living tendency on the part of human beings seeking answers to their specific needs to move toward basic transformations of society. If that trend does not exist, neither does socialism, except as a harmless, pretty dream. And in America, to settle this question requires that one leave the heaven of Leftist speculation inhabited by noble Proletarians and Blacks, and make contact with the earthy reality of our social life, where 90 percent of Negro voters voted for Humphrey and young white workers were tempted by George Wallace.

Lichtheim's book is, of course, not a tract and the deductions I have made from it are my own. But it most certainly is a challenging, ranging study, a significant contribution to the history and interpretation of the Left by one of its most brilliant writers.

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Correspondence

"The Great Escape"

Sirs:

Mr. Mendel's attack (*The New Republic*, January 11) on views expressed by me a year ago in *Encounter* can be broken down into three facets. The first is that of Accusation, the second that of Insinuation, and the third that of Distortion. Let me comment on each:

1) The Accusation: Mr. Mendel charges that since I expect the developments that I analyze critically, I am therefore marching, "chin up and full stride," full of "visceral preference" for a dehumanized life. Prediction becomes equated with unqualified preference, though fortunately for humanity Mr. Mendel appears on his white charger (after a year's meditation) to slay me. He does allow that I am "not quite perfectly one-dimensional" but this redeeming quality of mine is undone by my inhuman belief that data storage and push-button information retrieval will be important to our society.

2) The Insinuation: I can only suppose that subtle guilt by association is intended by comments on my alleged "close association with historical determinist thinking – first, his involvement in Soviet studies, then his collaboration with Rostow's neo-Marxist justification of our Vietnam monstrosities." I suppose his other remarks concerning me ("regression to primitive fetishism," "close association with several power worlds" [!?]) were meant to further fortify his reasoning, which I concede they did, since its substance was otherwise elusive. In disagreeing with Mr. Mendel's plea for his particular utopia and in not taking seriously his childish concept of the "Great Refusal," I do not feel it necessary to investigate whether he was at one time a fellow-traveler, a McCarthyite, a Bircher or whatever. I feel strongly about this point because regretably the ad hominem style of argumentation – somewhat dormant for a decade and a half – has today become rather fashionable among some scholars who should know better.

3) The Distortion: This is the most objectionable part, especially since it comes from a writer identified as a professional historian. In his article, he uses a quotation from another of my articles – but in such a manner as to suggest that it came from the piece that he was criticizing – to indicate to the readers that I favor the suppression and in some cases the physical destruction of the "nay-sayers" of the technetronic age.

The fact is that the quotation that he used came from an article which appeared last summer in *The New Republic* in which I attempted to analyze both the most effective way of suppressing a revolution *and of carrying one out*. Another writer, if he were to use Mendel's somewhat curious methods of scholarship, could cite the second half of the above to prove that I advocate the overthrow of the established system by revolution and that I teach the best tactics for achieving that aim.

Let me conclude with a general observation. I suspect that there is indeed a fundamental difference between us (once the accusatory tone, the insinuations and the distortions are put aside). I happen to believe that this society can master the technetronic age, in spite of the challenges to humanism that it poses, and that a better society will ensue. I do not believe that that society will be built by our contemporary Luddites, however passionately Mendel extolls the "sensual and contemplative delight" of their Great Escape from reality.

Zbigniew Brzezinski

In reply:

(1) *Distortion. (Mine?)* Probably in order to save space, the editors decided to delete, among other lines, my specific reference to the "*New Republic* piece of June 1, which denounces and threatens the 'historical irrelevants' " who oppose the technetronic society. Who could have imagined that this deletion might be used the way Brzezinski uses it? It in no way alters the substance of Brzezinski's articles or my criticisms. The quotations attacking the "historical irrelevants" that I took – accurately and in context – from the June 1 article are, after all, Brzezinski's; notwithstanding what he now says about that article, it opens and closes with the connection between opposition movements today and the heralded technetronic age, and this theme infuses the article as a whole. Finally, this connection is clearly stated in the *Encounter* article also, where Brzezinski writes of "an analogy here between the 'New Left' and the search-

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ing attitude of various disaffected groups in early 19th century Europe, reacting to the first strains of the industrial age." *Distortion. (His)* I took great care to stress that the Great Refusal is expressed through very *active* political and career choices and not only by withdrawal into "sensual and contemplative delight." This, in fact, was a central theme of my comments. (2) *Accusation.* Brzezinski now describes his *Encounter* position as simply a belief that technetronic devices "will be important to society." This is like describing the *Communist Manifesto* as a homily urging people to cooperate a little more. Once again, as in the case of his June 1 article, Brzezinski misrepresents his own work. Similarly, against the background of these two articles, the sweetly humane note on which he closes his remarks is either comic or grotesque, but in any case spurious.

(3) *Insinuation.* There was no subtle insinuation. My accusation was quite direct and explicit. I see a disturbing kinship between the analysis and predictions behind our Vietnam policies, Marxist - Leninist determinism, and Brzezinski's technetronic predictions. Surprisingly, he once more displays this kinship when he distinguishes between "prediction" and "preference." How often have we heard Marxists disclaim responsibility for their prognosis (*and for its policy implications*) by this argument! It used to go something like this: do geologists want or like the earthquake they predict? But it is good to hear that Brzezinski's technetronic preferences are qualified. I look forward to his articles reflecting this qualification, criticizing the digital Leviathan, and showing us how to draw from it a "better society." There is certainly nothing whatsoever about this in the articles in question.

(4) As for *ad hominem* argument (of which his own rebuttal provides some gorgeous illustrations), it is naive to think that persons and prophesies can be neatly separated on issues like these, where values are everywhere and the subjects so vastly complex. The facade of impersonal, coolly detached, rationalistic "objectivity" that characterizes these articles by Brzezinski is as flimsy as it is fraudulent.

Arthur P. Mendel

On Illusions

Sirs:

A sentence from my colleague Arthur Danto's book review of January 25 has stuck in my mind: "The whole thing was a joust of morally and hence of factually hallucinated quixotes, whose individual realities consisted of imagining and wishfulness, each one unaware of his own illusions while demanding realism from the rest." "The whole thing" in this sentence should be "the history of the world." As seen, that is, by many teachers in the universities. And if it is true of the whole world, it would have to be true of Columbia in the spring of 1968; if not, not. I am reminded of readers of *Don Quixote* itself. The Don has undoubtedly made a bad impression on a lot of people, or his name would not have become synonymous with a pathetic kind of foolishness. On the other hand, forty million Frenchmen can't be right. The right interpretation of the *Quixote* is that some illusions are better than others, which is to say less illusory than others, and there can be little doubt that Cervantes found the hard sense of Sancho more illusory than the "softheadedness" of his Don.

People generally lead lives of quiet desperation and so of desperate passivity. To some it would seem that the activity of last spring betokened a desperation become merely noisy and destructive. That is the big issue. And I think the big fact is that the event was redeemed from this negativism by the quality in the Columbia rebels that Arthur Danto treats with scorn (however gentle), namely, their capacity for wishes, imaginings, illusions, hallucinations, their quixotism, their Christian-Marxist hope. And if he answers that the other side had illusions too, my rejoinder is that there is a difference between the illusions by which one clings to the past and the illusions by which one creates the future: in the degree to which the intended future gets created, the second kind of illusions prove not to be illusions at all.

Eric Bentley
Columbia University

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"Black Lung"

Sirs:

In "Black Lung" (Jan. 25, 1969) Coles and Huge accurately note the effect of the disability amendments of the Social Security Amendments of 1967 upon "black lung" miners. Let me only add that, whatever Congress's unexpressed motivation, expressed Legislative intent, as contained in the history, was to restore the definition of disability to its presumed initial meaning under the first Social Security Act.

I cite this rationale not to contend

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with Coles and Huge but to reinforce their observation that the United States has no disability insurance program. In effect, it does not, and never did, as the Amendments of 1967 made clear. In effect, to be incurably disabled is to be at death's door, absolutely incapable of any "substantial gainful activity," as the government has it. The 1967 Amendments, repressive in so many other ways, were not actually repressive here; they just told the courts to stop acting as if we have a meaningful disability program when we do not and never have.

Meanwhile, the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare puts its regional attorneys, supported by its General Counsel and the Social Security Administration, to work writing briefs against the contentions of claimants disabled under about every definition but that of the Social Security Act. Against this impressive array of legal talent claimants summon marginal lawyers, under contingent fee arrangements, or blunder through themselves, receiving extensive hearings of varying degrees of fairness (sometimes very fair) – and too many times losing, even though "disabled" to all intents and purposes. At any rate, my own personal experience tells me that too many simply claim on their own, unrepresented, with many more inadequately represented. There are pitifully few who can muster the support to match the government's prodigious efforts in opposition. And there is, finally, the nagging question of how many workers actually have a case under the law yet can never work their way through the cumbersome procedures of filing claim, then prosecuting it.

The problem, then, is not just "black lung" miners. It is every man and woman who cannot hold jobs for which training and experience equipped them, who cannot find work in terms consistent with extant life patterns, but who are thought to be able to do some jobs, even if they can't find them, even if they won't be hired for them, even if they won't receive a living wage for them. The wonder is that the plight of the effectively, if not legally, disabled – black lung miners *et alia* – has not captured sufficient attention to lead to the kind of siege already being mounted against the related Public Assistance provisions of the Social Security Act.

Ronald J. Stone
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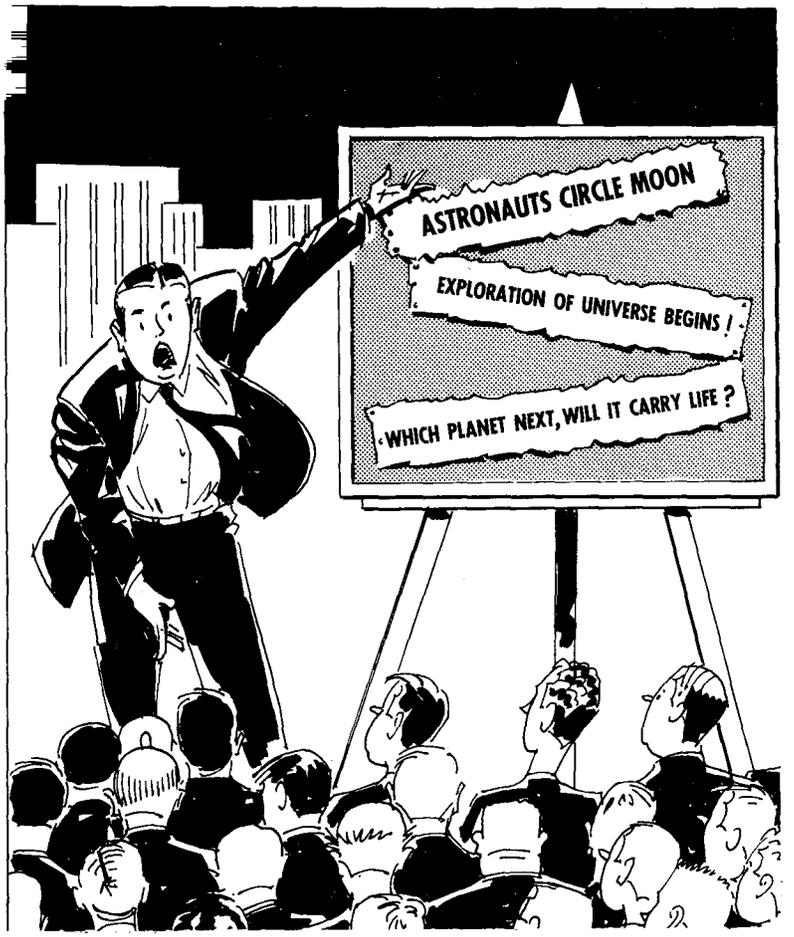

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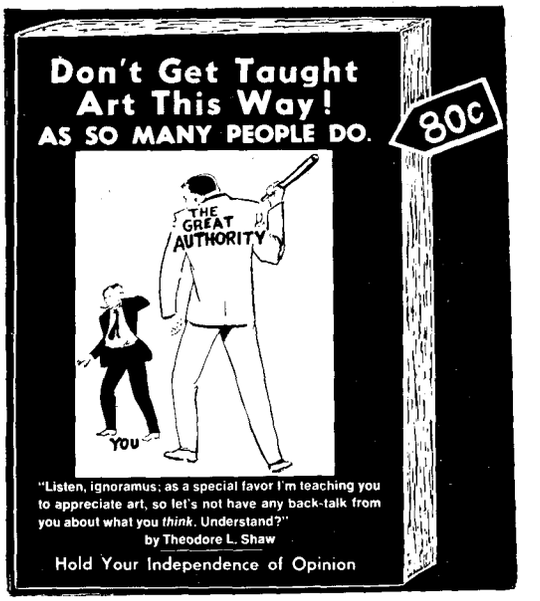
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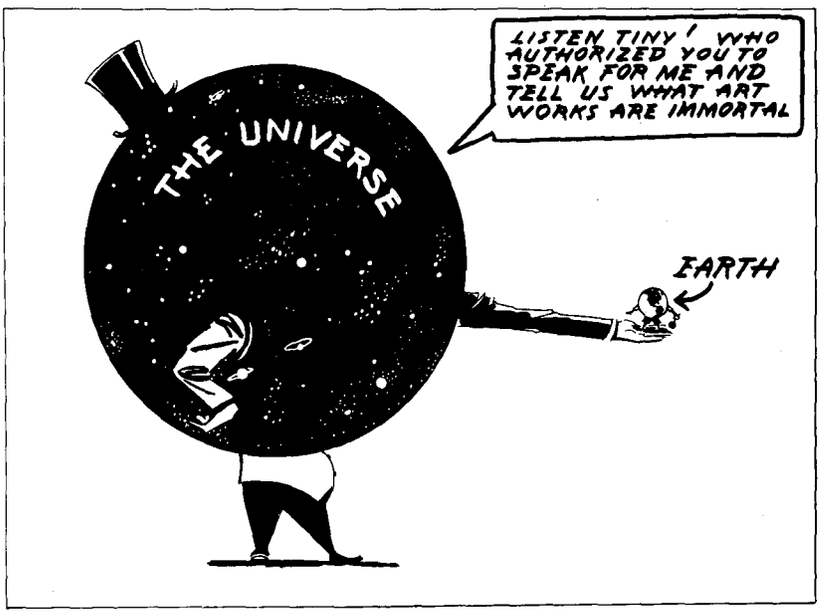

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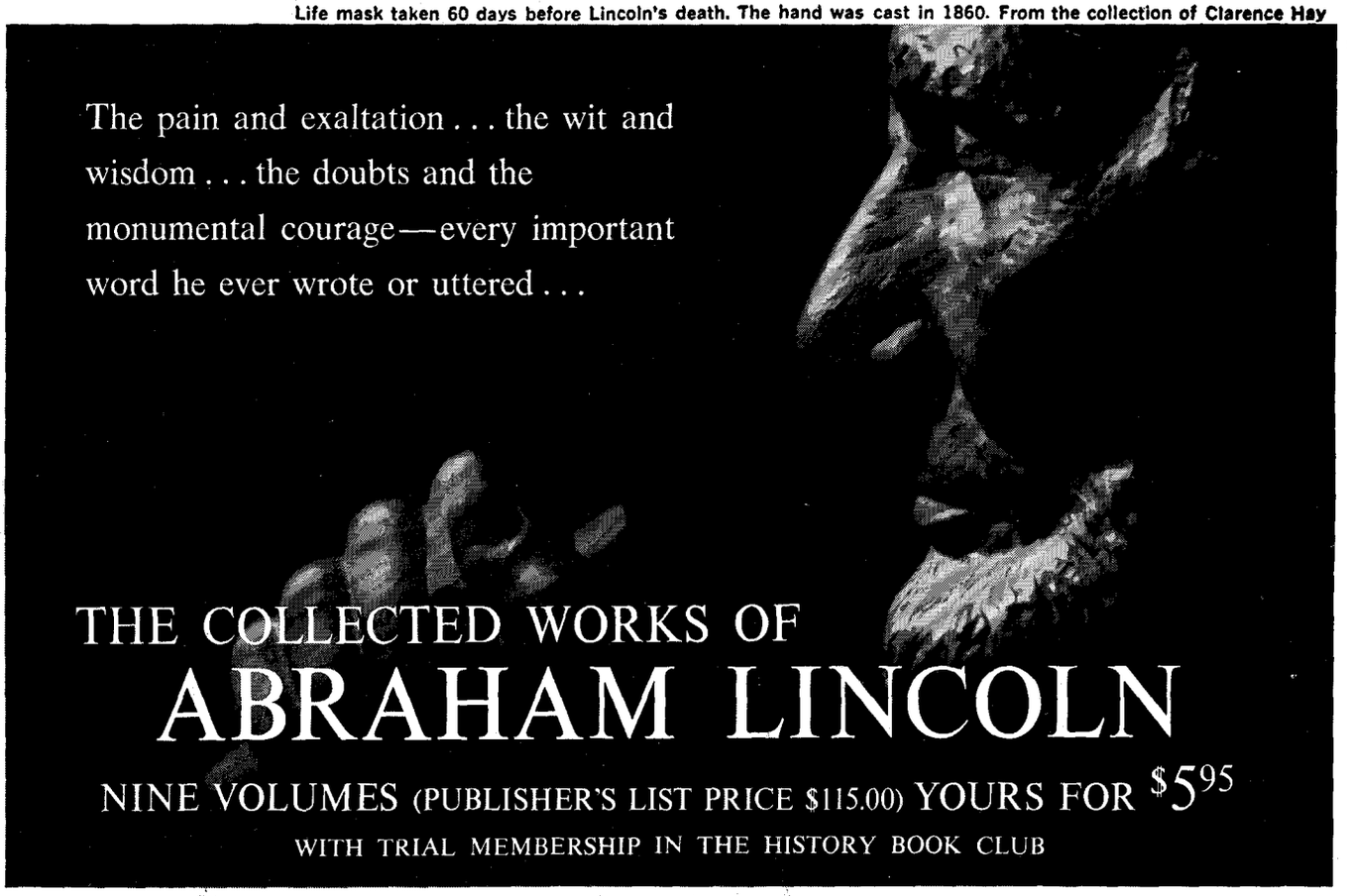

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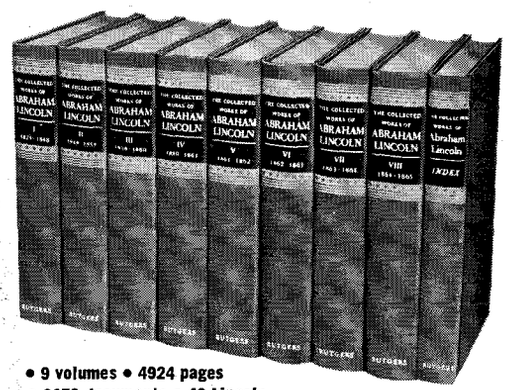

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